

Where Haitians Are, Where Haitian Can Come:
Belonging and Cultural Reproduction among Haitian Immigrant Pentecostals in Canada

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Abstract

**Where Haitians Are, Where Haitian Can Come:
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Debie Eze

This study aims to investigate the connection between religion and immigration. It delves into immigrant religious institutions in an effort to discover how immigrant's sense of belonging to their host and home nations was formed after migration. Within this context, this study will show how religious sites can become powerful sites for cultural reproduction and ethnic identity reaffirmation.

Focusing on Haitian immigrants this work will shed some light on the origins of two Haitian Pentecostal congregations in Toronto and Montréal. It will also outline the manner in which members of these congregations conceptualize their belonging in Canadian society by deconstructing my collaborators accounts of their perceptions of the use of language in the church. In particular, I will be looking at the effects of transnationality and state policies. Lastly, the study will show that religion plays a fundamental role in shaping an immigrant's sense of belonging. It will do so by illustrating how ethnic identity reproduction, more specifically how the use of native vernaculars fortified congregant commitment to the institution, reproduce ethnic identity, and engendered a sense of community.

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Next, I want to acknowledge my collaborators, especially the pastors that allowed me in to their churches and introduced me to the congregants and colleagues. They opened up their lives to me and for this I will be eternally grateful. I am particularly grateful to Betty for introducing me to her church and thus enabling me to do this project. Lastly, to the parishioners who patiently answer all of my questions, I say thank you for your time.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Since the 1960's Haitian immigrants have migrated to Canada in large numbers. At the same time other countries traditionally favoured by Haitians including the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Guadeloupe, France, The Democratic Republic of Congo and The United States of America had implemented laws that prohibited Haitians from entering their countries. As a consequence the number of Haitians in Canada has risen over the past 40 years and it currently rests at over 82,000. A convergence of events caused potential Haitian immigrants to view migration to Canada in a more positive light. Paul Dejean (1980) cited three reasons for the influx of Haitians into Canada including the oppressive Duvalier regime, changes to immigration laws in countries traditionally favoured by Haitian immigrants which discouraged Haitian immigration and the new amenable immigration laws in Canada. As a result, two large waves of Haitian immigration began to come into Canada from 1967-1974. The first contained highly educated Haitians who sought high-level jobs; the second included less educated immigrants looking for lower level jobs. Numbers from Statistics Canada (2003) have revealed that people of Haitian descent reside throughout Canada, with the highest numbers in the province of Québec. Although Montréal has the highest numbers of Haitians in Canada, Haitians could also be found in Québec City, Ottawa-Hull and Toronto.

This study explores how immigrants adapt to living in a new country and how the process of adaptation affects their perception of themselves. The point of view of the immigrant is focused upon and I look at the changes that occur to her ethnic identity. From the literature available on the flow of Caribbean immigrants into North America, I

have learned of the structural processes that influence Caribbean immigrant communities in Toronto and in Montréal such as institutional and social racism, multiculturalism policies all over Canada and nationalism in Québec. Although, identities are formed through these structural forces but structural forces do not give complete insight to the processes that influenced incorporation and the development of a sense of community. In particular, these structural processes do not cover the transnational connections that immigrants maintained with their home countries. As such, this study not only investigates the attitudes and policies of the host society, but it also investigates the attitudes and perceptions of the immigrant.

Another component of this study is an examination of the role religious sites played in the formation of ethnic identity in host countries¹. Although religion has historically played a vital role in the maintenance of ethnic identity for immigrants around the world, this role has changed in more recent times. One only need to think of the Irish, Russian and Jewish immigrants that settled into ethnic enclaves over the last century to gain insight on of how religion influenced ethnic identity retention. But scholarly work over the past decade has examined the role of religion in the lives of newer immigrants. Religion aids immigrants by providing a means to immigrate to one's host country, helping to maintain transnational links to one's home country and assist in the creation of a new ethnic community in one's host country. With this in mind, I focus on how Haitian immigrants in Toronto and Montréal perceived their place in the world. Also, I seek to elucidate the ways in which Haitian immigrants reproduce ethnicity in their church in their new society and examine the role religious sites may play in the

¹ The phrases home country/society and host country/society used through out this work refer to the country an immigrant immigrated from and the country they have immigrated to respectively.

retention of ethnic identity.

As stated above, people have always moved around the world and yet have still managed to stay connected to their home countries and maintain their national identities. As Nancy Foner (2001) has stated that earlier immigrants have favoured maintaining allegiance to their home countries. Connections to one's home country were maintained due to feelings of alienation and segregation in the host country, which inspired feelings of alienation and often created economic insecurity. Looking at the history of migration one can see that migrants have often looked back to the old country. With this in mind, what is different about the cross border connections between immigrants and their homeland that occur now?

Well, one major difference resides in the nature of the connections that exist today. Most prominently, these connections are facilitated by improved technology. Arjun Appadurai (1996) noted that contributing factors such as the media, which transmitted information faster than ever before, and technology, which enabled migrants to communicate quickly and cheaply, have greatly impacted upon the modern world. Utilizing these connections, new conceptualizations of the state and the individuals place within the state have come into being. The state and citizenship have been reconceptualized in such a way that the connections between people and their home nation have made borders diaphanous, allowing people, identities, and ideas to pass through these borders easily. These new ways to connect distant places and people have reshaped the nation and the citizen both at home and in their host countries. Through this process, new identities have been formed and new ways of seeing the world have been

created. Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Christina Szanton Blanc (1994) have stated that transnational social spaces connected people distanced by national borders. These spaces are created in parts of the world where people migrate out of their country and retain contact with their home country through remittance networks, the media, and through religious institutions.

Religious institutions have held a fundamental position for immigrants in their host countries as it provided the space, means and opportunity to engage members of ones ethnic group. R. Stephen Warner (1998) outlined important ways in which religion was an important part of immigrant lives. In some cases religion was more important in an immigrant's host country. It gains a new significance for immigrants because it is often a path through which immigrants could remain connected to their home society. Also, religion is important because it gives one a space to connect to God and gain comfort on a spiritual level as well as allowing one to access networks, access services, and isolate an individual from mainstream society. The networks nurtured within churches provide a place for people to communicate and it enables them to take part in larger networks, which exists between cities and even between countries. Churches provide services for immigrants who have find themselves in very vulnerable positions. Churches are one of the only places where immigrants find any kind of financial or emotional support. Lastly, churches provide isolation from the host society for immigrants who have find it difficult to integrate immediately. For them, the church is a place to experience familiar people, smells, voices, and values that reminds them of home and allows them to gain a sense of comfort. Considering all of the ways in which churches fosters connections between immigrants, one can see how churches play an

important role for immigrants in retaining and reaffirming ethnic identity.

This research project relies upon theories presented by Micheline Labelle and Daniel Salée (2001), Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton-Blanc (1994), Helen Rose Ebaugh and Janet Saltzman Chafetz (2000b) and R. Stephen Warner & Judith G Wittner (1998) to establish the link between integration and religion. It delves into the attitudes held in Canadian society toward immigrants and the perceptions held by immigrants in order to understand congregants' conceptualization of belonging in Canadian society. After establishing how congregants' conceptualize their place in Canada, I examine the inner mechanisms of immigrant religious institutions in an effort to discover how churches aid in the retention of ethnic identity. Focusing on Haitian immigrants, this work sheds some light on ethnic identity retention in Pentecostal churches in Toronto and Montréal.

Chapter 1 outlines the methodology of the study and I outline how I conducted fieldwork and informal interviews as well as describe of my positionality.

Chapter 2 contains a historical review of Haiti, covering the revolution in 1804, the American occupation, and the Duvalier regime.

Chapter 3 covers the history of Haitian migration around the world, it gives an in depth description of the history of migration into Canada as outlined by Paul Dejean (1980). The last section of this chapter describes the regions of settlement of these Haitian immigrants.

Chapter 4 outlines the factors that contributed to the congregants' sense of belonging in Canada, investigating the structural factors, transnational links and my

collaborators' conceptualizations of their place in Canadian society.

Chapter 5 outlines Haiti's most well known religions, Roman Catholicism and Vodoun covering their origins and spiritual tenets. I go on to describe the history of Protestantism in Haiti summarizing how it has grown throughout Haiti's history. Then it reviews Protestantism in Canada and Haitian Protestant congregations in Canada. Lastly, chapter 5 delineates the history of The Prophecy Assembly and L'Assemblée du Prophétie churches in Toronto and Montréal.

Chapter 6 takes a theoretical look at religion and immigrants focusing upon the relationship between religion and ethnic identity reproduction. It outlines how religions played a fundamental role in fortifying immigrant ethnic identity by creating a sense of belonging and community. I outline the connection between religion, culture, and ethnic identity by deconstructing my collaborators accounts of the significance of their native languages in the church. It also investigates how these languages were connected to Haitian ethnic identity.

In chapter 7, I conclude by summarizing the major points made in this study. I review the theory used in this study and link it to the fieldwork conducted. Lastly, I make recommendations for future research.

Methodology: Research among Haitians in Toronto and Montréal

This chapter outlines the length and scope of my fieldwork. It begins by describing the churches where I conducted fieldwork in both Toronto and Montréal. It also describes the method of data collection used during fieldwork. Lastly, it reviews the successes and failures that I experienced using these methods.

The fieldwork I conducted for this research project was completed within a six-month period spanning from July 2006 and December 2006. The fieldwork was multi-sited taking place in both Toronto and Montréal. Toronto was chosen because there was previous no research on Haitians specifically in Toronto and I wanted to research the connections between Haitian communities in Toronto, Canada's largest city and Montreal, the home of the largest Haitian community in Canada. Also, the personal connections I had in Toronto allowed for me to attend a Haitian Pentecostal church in Toronto. From this church I was able to gain entrance into a church in Montréal.

In July 2006, I was able to attend church services in The Prophecy Assembly Toronto (PA Toronto) in Toronto. I went to every Sunday morning and I was able to meet with the leaders of the church including the one of the head pastors Pastor Delinois², his wife, Chimene and the other head pastor, Pastor Neder. They in turn, allowed me to meet all of the parishioners and observe as they worshipped. Pastor Delinois gave me contact information for the church in Montréal, where I eventually conducted fieldwork. When I got to Montréal in September 2006, I contacted Pastor Domont, who cordially allowed me to meet with him and the secretary of the church Celine. I was able to secure

² All names and places referenced in this work are pseudonyms. This was done in order to protect the identities of all participants.

permission to conduct fieldwork in his church at that time. He also introduced me to some members of the church, some of whom translated the sermons for me. Lastly, he introduced me to other Haitian pastors in Montréal who also contributed to me research project.

My fieldwork consisted of 2 months (July 23 - Sept 20) in Toronto where I regularly attended PA Toronto in the east end of Toronto. This church had a regular attendance of approximately 75 people. If there were celebrations such as the anniversary of the church, a baptism or a communion during the week, then the attendance would grow to just under 110 people. The church had services every Sunday morning from 10:00am to 1:30 or 2:00pm. It also had Bible study on Tuesday, smaller services Sunday evening, Saturday evening, and occasionally on Friday night. Also, there were meetings held for the women, men and youth within the church. During these ministry meetings, congregants would gather together to discuss the Bible and events in their lives. These meetings were organized among the members and would take place in the one of their homes. These services were the most difficult to attend as the time and place would vary from week to week and were cancelled because members could not attend. All other services were held in the church building.

I also conducted fieldwork L'Assemblée du Prophétie (AP Montréal) in Montréal for 2 months and 3 weeks (Sept 23 - Dec 13) in the AP Montréal in Montréal Nord. The church had a regular attendance for Sunday morning services of approximately 150 people but special events drew in more people. The church held regular services Sunday morning and evening. During the celebration week for the anniversary of the church, there were services held every day of the week. In addition, there were several

community services held for all parishioners including an after-school program, music classes, and ministry meetings. The after school program was for children in grades 1 - 6 and teenage high school students in their 1st and 2nd year held three days of the week on Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday Music classes were held from Monday to Thursday for the youth in the church. In these classes, the youth were taught to play instruments and practiced playing songs for the services. Several meetings were held for the Youth, Choir, Ladies and Men's ministries. These were held within the church once a week, although many of these meetings were cancelled while I was conducting research because of the 12th anniversary celebrations and the Christmas celebrations.

I attended several church services in both churches, ten from the church in Toronto and twelve in Montréal. During those services the data I collected included recordings and observations of sermons, songs and prayers. During those services, I relied upon participant observation, which included taking notes and making digital audio recordings of church services, meetings and other events. Charlotte Aull Davies (1999) provided a definition of participant observation, which I relied upon. Davies stated that participant observation was a "...long-term personal involvement with those being studied". Observation proved to be a little difficult because congregants were uneasy with my presence but these methods also proved to be extremely useful for research purposes. I will explain the difficulties I had in the field later on in the chapter.

I also conducted semi-structured interviews with eighteen congregants; here I use Davies' definition that described semi-structured interviews as interviews, which were conducted during a time and in a space that was set off from usual interaction between ethnographer and collaborator. The ethnographer conducted the interview prepared with a

list of interview questions in mind. All of my interviews were conducted in English or Haitian Creole depending on how proficient the participant was with either language. In Toronto, I interviewed ten individuals, including eight parishioners in the PA Toronto and in two other churches. Four of the informants were pastors, two from the PA Toronto and the other two from other churches. One of the pastors, Pastor Domont, worked at a well-established Pentecostal Church. The other pastor, Pastor Andy, worked at a fledgling church³. The other informants I interviewed included three women and three men, all within the ages of 43 - 60. The amount of education received by of the informants ranged from high school to a Master's degree. All collaborators were employed in Toronto with such jobs as computer sales consultant, pastor, college professor, and social worker. All participants had children ranging from one child to four children; all had received Canadian citizenship; all were married; all had been born in Haiti; and all spoke both French and Haitian Creole and varying levels of proficiency with English.

In Montréal, I interviewed a total of eight people, six of whom were members in the church and two were pastors outside of the church. Three of the six collaborators were women, and three were men; one of the men was the head pastor of the church. Their ages ranged from 15-55 for both women and men. The pastors from outside churches were Pastor Mannwèl from the Pastoral Church in St. Laurent and Pastor Mòise from The Baptismal Assembly in Park Extension. These churches all differed in the size of the congregation, size of the institution, the number of years in operation, access to resources and the ability to provide services to the congregation. The amount of

³ This was a church that was headed by a pastor in a nearby town starting in 2004. It was called The Assembly Church and the congregation was made up of the pastor and his family. The church met at the pastor's house every Sunday morning for services.

education received by all informants ranged from a high school diploma to an Honorary PhD. Six of the eight participants were employed in a variety of professions including legal security, pastors and radiological technician trainer. Six of the eight participants were married and had children with numbers ranging from one child to three children. All had gained their citizenship in Canada. Six of the eight were born in Haiti and the other two informants were born in Montréal. Lastly, all informants spoke French, and varying level of proficiency in Haitian Creole. Only one participant spoke no English at all.

As mentioned above, I had to overcome some obstacles in observing and interviewing the congregants in both churches. Although this was by no means unique to Haitians, it has been well documented that Haitians can be difficult research subjects. Haitians were averse to participating in social science research because of the history of oppression in Haiti and a learned distrust of government institutions. Alex Stepick & Carol Dutton Stepick (1990) have stated that the political and social history of Haiti has caused Haitians to distrust and as a result they have become reticent about giving personal information to strangers. Alex Stepick (1998) and Susan Buchanan (1980) have described impediments experienced in the field while trying to maintain a viable research site within Haitian communities in the United States of America. Each had to contend with people who were reluctant to participate in their research because of the mistrust they felt toward fieldworkers. Both researchers talked about building trust with their collaborators by establishing contacts within the community, making first contact with participants in ways that were culturally sensitive, and by speaking Haitian Creole.

I used Stepick and Buchanan's experiences to inform my entrance into the field. I introduced myself as an anthropologist to my collaborators and made them aware of my

intention to conduct fieldwork. Also, I would let them know about my Haitian background to alleviate feelings distrust and for the most part found that it did make people feel comfortable with my presence in the church. Despite my success in making people feel comfortable, I still found that some people remained uneasy when it came to participating in my project. Some potential collaborators refused to participate when asked, stating that they did not feel comfortable talking to me about themselves. Others avoided me by making arrangements to meet only to not show up or promising to call in order to make arrangements, but never calling. Although I was not able to get a complete answer from those who refused to participate, I believe that they refusal was linked to feelings of distrust. As time went on and my presence was more established through my continued attendance, some people became more open to talking with me. More time in both research sites would have yielded more opportunities to get to know more people in each congregation. Indeed, I would have been able to get a better picture of the member's interactions, but the time I did spend in each church provided me with valuable information.

This chapter outlines the methodology used during my fieldwork. In the next chapter, I discuss my positionality. Here, I highlight the significance of multiple identities both those of my collaborators and myself and what part they played when I interacted with my collaborators.

Positionality: Multiple Identities and ‘Shifting Identifications’

Even as insiders or partial insiders, in some contexts we are drawn closer, in others we are thrust apart. Multiple planes of identification may be most painfully highlighted among anthropologists who have identities spanning racial or cultural groups... Yet, in that we all belong to several communities simultaneously (not least of all, the community we were born into and the community of professional academics), I would argue that every anthropologist exhibits what Rosaldo has termed “multiple subjectivity” which many crosscutting identifications” (Narayan 1993, 676)

This section delves into the ways in which the identities of collaborators interact with the identity of the researcher. Being a woman of Afro-Caribbean descent, namely Haitian and Nigerian descent, my background is similar to that of my collaborators. Once in the field, I presented myself as the daughter of a Haitian immigrant in order to highlight my similarities to the congregations in the church and show that they could relate to aspects of my life. I also relied upon my Catholic background to enable me to participate in the religious celebrations at the churches. Going into the field, I considered myself to be part Haitian as I was familiar with the culture and people. All my life my mother and her very extended family have exposed me to Haitian culture, food, customs and traditions. Indeed, I am one of those ‘halfies’, Lila Abu-Lughod (1991) referred to in *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present* and as she stated there was no clear distinction between my collaborators and myself. And yet there was. I found myself being able to separate my identity from that my collaborators and they were able to separate theirs from me. They, as well as I, recognized some of the differences in our respective identities that were present and at other times we recognized the things that we had in common. Kirin Narayan (1993) stated that the conceptualization of a dichotomy between self and other or insider and outsider needed to be reinterpreted. There needs to be a shift

toward a paradigm that includes “shifting identifications amid a field of interpenetrating communities and power relations” (p.671). Within this new paradigm, one needs to take into account the hybridity of identities (both one’s collaborators and one’s own), the constant shifting nature of these identities as different situations arise and as different contexts require, and the agency one’s collaborators possess to construct their identity and their world. Just as one’s identity could never be construed in the manner that one intends, one’s attempt to create a favourable identity for oneself in the field based upon static and constructed notions of one’s relation to their collaborators also could never work.

The next chapter outlines the history of Haiti from Columbus’ arrival to Aristide’s presidency.

Chapter 2: The Forging of a Nation: A History of Haiti from Past to Present

This chapter outlines the history of Haiti with a special focus on the Duvalier regime, as this was an important time for the history of Haitian migration into Canada.

Before the Revolution

The history of Haiti is fraught with triumphs and disappointing setbacks. The nation's history began with Christopher Columbus, when he arrived on the island in December 1492 when his ships arrived, Arawak and Tiano Indians inhabited the island. Harsh slave conditions imposed on these groups by the Spanish colonizers eventually wiped them out. Since that time both Spain and France occupied Haiti and eventually brought African slaves to the island to replace the depleted local source of labour. With a steady source of slave labour, the island became very prosperous and was referred to as the 'Pearl of the Antilles' making both the plantation owners living in Haiti and investors in Europe very rich.

With the growth of the colonial agricultural industry, Haiti became populated with African slaves, mulattos (children born of parents of both African and European descent), European plantation owners and European workers. These groups did not live harmoniously together. The slaves, mulattos, European plantation owners and workers lived in a very volatile environment. It was under these conditions that several slave rebellions occurred in the 1790s, which finally culminated in the revolution led by Toussaint Louverture. Before the leader of the revolution could officially claim his victory he was captured and sent into exile in France, where he would later die from starvation and neglect.

After the Revolution

By January 1, 1804 Jean Jacques Dessalines took command of the revolution and declared Haiti to be an independent nation. Dessalines allotted all race the same rights and privileges under a newly drafted constitution. He sought to bring all of the people together by attempting to end the segmentation of groups by race and colour, which had contributed to the unrest that lead to the revolution. David Nicholls (1979) stated that:

The first constitution of Haiti proclaimed that all Haitians no matter what their shade of skin were to be called 'black'; this included even those German and Polish groups in Saint Domingue who had fought with the liberation movement and had become citizens"(pp. 35-36).

Everyone officially became *neg*⁴ or citizens of Haiti, legally negating all the racial distinctions that existed before the revolution. Soon after Dessalines was killed in a revolt, a new leader, Henry Christophe came into power. After Christophe, Haitian leaders often found that they could not enjoy their new found power for very long and a very long list of leaders either died in office or were forced to leave their position under threat of death.

American Invasion

The next major phase of the history of Haiti was the American occupation of Haiti from 1915 to 1934. Flore Zephir (2004) discussion of the American invasion sited the political unrest that was present in Haiti when the American military arrived as the contributing factors of the invasion and occupation. During their time in Haiti, the Americans attempted to institute a program of socio-economic reconstruction and as a result the economic, political and social landscape of Haiti was fundamentally changed.

⁴ *Neg* literally means black, in Haitian Creole and in this context referred to a native born Haitian, a citizen or a person who was intimately familiar with the countries culture no matter what their race. This term stood in opposition to 'blan', literally meaning white referring to outsiders no matter their race.

When the first American ship arrived in Haiti, the newly appointed President, Guillaume Sam, had been assassinated. The American military took control of the capital city, Port-au-Prince on July 29, 1915 and re-established political and economic stability. Soon after invading, American investors began acquiring land for agricultural production. There was a shift in the hierarchy of socio-economic division in Haiti, placing White and mulatto communities in a superior position over that of Black communities. The invasion finally ended in 1934 when the President of The United States of America, Theodore Roosevelt, put control of the country back into the hands of Haitians. In the years after the invasion, Haiti has continued to experience more instability and again began to go through another quick succession of deposed leaders until the Duvalier regime came into power.

Duvalier Era

The Duvalier era consisted of the presidency of both François 'Papa Doc' Duvalier (1957-1971) and his son Jean-Claude 'Baby Doc' Duvalier (1971-1986). François Duvalier was educated as a doctor and worked within the medical field intermittently in his early adulthood. Despite his training, Duvalier chose to pursue his desire to write and authored many political commentary pieces. He eventually decided to run for political office and was elected in 1957 with a large majority of the vote. Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1990) and James Ferguson (1987) have stated that Duvalier was elected due to the support he received from the military, who suppressed all opposition in the press, the public and the judiciary. Soon after assuming power, Duvalier sought to consolidate his own power by minimizing the strength of the army as he recognized the amount of influence it had in determining who could acquire political office. He chose to

eliminate any opposition and began creating his own militia called the Tonton Macoute. Ferguson (1987) has translated Tonton Macoutes as *Uncle Knapsack*. This name made reference to a bogeyman in traditional Haitian Vodoun mythology. Stories within the mythology described Tonton Macoutes as a man who kidnapped children and carried them off in his bag. Duvalier's militia inspired a similar level of fear in the people in Haiti as the population were routinely harassed, terrorized and intimidated.

In subduing the army and creating his own military power, Duvalier was able to strengthen his control over the population. But his quest to consolidate his power did not stop when he took control of military power; instead it spread out into all sectors of Haitian society. Duvalier also manipulated civil institutions to enhance his control over the population. To this end, newspapers were silenced, universities were closed and the legal system was co-opted. Trouillot (1990) described Duvalier's plot to increase his control over the people of Haiti through the state as pitting 'the state against the nation'.

Trouillot stated:

[Terror, graft and centralization], together with the auto-neutralization tactic, led to new forms of state intrusion into the organization of everyday life. The accumulation of such changes eventually led to a qualitative change: *the remaking of the traditional authoritarian state into a totalitarian apparatus*. Under the Duvaliers, the state forced civil society to abide by the political rules it defined. In so doing, it transformed substantial components of civil society in ways newly and wholly dictated by the political sphere (author's emphasis, p. 163).

In order to turn the state into an institution that could control the Haitian population, Duvalier had to drastically reformulate the state. It was in this way that all parts of the state began to function solely to maintain totalitarian control over the nation. Institutions that had previously existed to serve the people were weakened or disbanded all together. Open dissent of any kind in the public domain was repressed by silencing

activists, radio stations, newspapers and protestors. These tactics left the public with no way to resist Duvalier's regime. David Nicholls (1996) noted that Duvalier had captured the support of the peasants and the houngan in order to maintain his presidency. He stated that Duvalier's regime was neither completely fascist nor totalitarian; instead it was one that shrewdly manipulated the class and colour system in order to maintain control. No matter the nature of the regime, it began to solidify Duvalier's position by declaring himself president for life; rewriting the constitution; and designating his son as his successor right after fortifying his control over both the state and the nation. Duvalier's time as president ended when he died on April 21, 1971 and culminated in the social and economic ruin of Haiti, with an estimated thirty thousand to sixty thousand people were killed, a crumbling infrastructure, a massive flow of people out of the country, and approximately 140 million dollars was stolen. However the death of Duvalier did not mark the end of tyranny in Haiti; instead it marked the beginning of a new chapter of despotism. The repressive tactics of the regime lead many Haitians to migrate and began to leave the country in significant numbers and continued well into his son's time in power. The full extent of this migration will be expanded upon in the next chapter.

François Duvalier, Jean-Claude's son, came into power on 22 April 1971, the day after his father died. His presidency was aimed at maintaining status quo, but also sought to divert large sums of money from aid programs toward political officials. It brought new levels of suffering among all segments of society, which eventually led to the beginning of the boat people phenomenon. Ferguson (1987) has noted that Duvalier tried to appease foreign governments, in particular, he tried to gain support and aid from the

U.S. by claiming to subvert communism. But in the meantime he diverted large portions of these monies to his own private accounts. In fact, up to ten to twenty million dollars was stolen from each budget per year and in total an estimated 300-900 million was stolen from Haitian treasuries throughout the regime. The stolen money, as well as the repressive tactics of the regime caused widespread deprivation and terror among the people of Haiti. Ferguson (1987) noted that rather than lose international aid Duvalier decided to institute 'liberalization' policies that loosened constraints upon the media and the people. As a result, Duvalier's control over the people began to wane and as a result, the new policies were quickly removed and oppression was reinstituted to regain control of the population.

Revolts slowly began to crop up and Duvalier's hold upon the people began to weaken. The first of these occurred in Cap-Haïtien on January 25, 1986, demonstrators began to confront troops and police and although some were killed during this riot, it marked a point where it became clear to both Duvalier and the Haitian people that things were about to change. This caused Duvalier to flee the country on February 6th, 1986, Duvalier and his family flew to France with the help of the United States Navy. The military took over the next day and this marked the end of terror and oppression by the Duvalier's.

Aristide

The next major event in the political history Haiti was the election of Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Aristide's presidency was wrought with many problems that were not limited to Haiti. After he was first elected in 1990, Aristide was almost immediately opposed by the military. He was eventually forced to leave later that year and replaced

with René Préval. By 1996, Aristide had returned and was ready to run for office once again. In 2000, he got his chance and ultimately won the election only to be deposed another time in 2004. Throughout both his terms Aristide advocated for the poor and the disadvantaged in sharp contrast to the neo-Duvalierist who preceded him, which consisted a succession of military and private citizens attempting to maintain power. In doing so, he challenged all of those that tried to keep the peasant class down. Alex Dupuy (1997) summed up the full gamut of Aristide declared enemies:

His attacks were not limited to the Duvalierists and the Macoute system; they were also directed at the United States (which he referred to as the “cold country to the north”), the Catholic Church hierarchy, and the members of the bourgeoisie for their collaboration with the dictatorships and their roles in the exploitation and oppression of the people. (p. 73)

Aristide was by no means a team player. Throughout his presidency he championed the rights of the powerless often using religion to get his point across. The most remarkable aspect of Aristide office was his focus on religion. Throughout his campaign and presidency Aristide included the teachings of the church in his political rhetoric and policies. Most notable were his *lavalas* or Great Flood movement and his *ti legliz* or the grassroots church organization. Nina Glick Schiller & George Fouron (2001) stated that during his first presidency, Aristide had begun to engage Haitians all over the world in an effort to get them involved in the political and economic future of the country. He created the Tenth Department, an addition to Haiti’s nine departments that included Haitians in diaspora. He began to welcome these migrants back, imploring them to continue to support their families and Haiti.

Thus far, I have briefly outlined the history of Haiti from Christopher Columbus to François Duvalier. The next chapter focuses upon migration out of Haiti and it

outlines the regions that Haitian immigrants have settled around the world. Lastly, it summarizes the history of migration into Canada focusing upon Québec and Ontario.

Chapter 3: Haitian Immigrants in Canada: The Context of Migration and Settlement for Haitian Immigrants

Before I can begin to discuss migration into Canada I must outline the process of migration out of Haiti. The reasons for migration out of Haiti vary greatly depending upon whom one asked. One person may have been trying to escape poverty, oppression and war, while another may have been trying to acquire an education, and yet another person may have been trying to gain access to economic opportunities. This section will outline the three main factors that have led to migration into Canada as discussed by Paul Dejean (1980 & 1990). This section also reviews the personal reasons for migration given by my collaborators.

Reasons for Migration into Canada

According to Flore Zephir (2004) the first recorded instance of Haitian migration into North America occurred during the American occupation of Haiti from 1915 to 1934. For the next three decades the number of Haitian immigrants had remained relatively low and steady, until the Duvalier regime. Paul Dejean has outlined the main factors contributed to this large increase in migration.

According to Dejean (1980), Haitian migration into Canada was the result of three main factors in the second half of the 1960's. The three main factors included the Duvalier regime, changes to immigration policies around the world, and new citizenship and immigration policies in Canada.

Duvalier Regime

The repressive Duvalier regime...brought about a massive exodus of Haitians in search of political and economic security. In 1969, there were 53,587 departures from Haiti compared to 19,316 in 1963. (Dejean 1980, p.7)

The Duvalier regime was a major contributing factor in the migration of Haitians out of Haiti, but the effects and the response to the regime repression were very different depending upon one's social class. Elites were perceived as a threat to the omnipotence of the regime and thus were repressed and driven out of the country. Peasants were later forced to seek better opportunities when Duvalier's government began to exploit the peasantry through taxes and by extracting of resources. Josh DeWind & David Kinley III (1988) have noted that the Haitian government grew rich off the backs of the peasantry it never returned any of the revenues, leaving the rural population without adequate support themselves. The impetus to leave was expedited when François Duvalier appropriated the military and created his militia faction, the Tonton Macoutes. The Macoutes enabled him to completely dominate over all members of society and they eliminated all political opponents by arresting or killing them. He also sought to destroy independent organizations in Haiti and thus quell and resistance to his power. Duvalier's regime affected all levels of society and caused many to flee in order to secure a better life.

Changing Immigration Policies in the United States, Africa and the Caribbean

Laws governing the admission of immigrants in migration zones traditionally favoured by Haitians were made more restrictive. The happened in Zaire, under the guise of "africanization," but also in the U.S., in the Bahamas and in the Dominican Republic either because of a tight job market or because of political unrest. As for Cuba, the Haitian migrant flux was stopped as early as 1958 with the result that thousands of Haitian cane cutters became permanent residents. (Dejean 1980, p.7)

According to Paul Dejean (1980) and Jacqueline Jean-Baptiste (1979), African countries traditionally favoured by Haitian began to refuse Haitian migrants entry into their countries. Some have attributed the shift in policy to the wave of independence that

many African nations experienced at that time. With independence, African nations, such as Zaire and Belgian Congo, began to push to nationalize all sectors of their societies. For instance, in 1960's the Belgian Congo began to replace Haitian administrative workers with African ones and as a result those newly unemployed Haitians had no choice but to return home.

Also, Caribbean nations had previously welcomed Haitians seasonal workers in their countries. For example, Cuba often allowed Haitians into the country in order to work during the sugar cane cutting season. But as political troubles and economic instability increased, the Cuban government began to refuse entry to Haitians. Another keen example can be found in the Bahamas, where Haitians had been welcomed immediately after World War II as farm workers. With the fall of the economy in the Bahamas, the Bahamian government began to expel and ban entry to Haitians, blaming them for the social, political and economic problems in the country.

In The United States of America the policies refused Haitian boat people entry into the country. Famine in the mid 1970's and the repressive regime caused many people, especially peasants, to migrate. For many, the only solution was to try to reach The United States of America on poorly fashioned boats over treacherous waters. These people were later coined the *boat people*. As the number of immigrants increased The United States of America began to refuse entry to those who made it to shore. Alex Stepick (1982), James Ferguson (1987) and Christopher Mitchell (1994) have all written extensively upon this subject and they have stated that the government of the United States claimed they could refuse entry on the premise that the boat people were not political refugees but economic ones. Therefore, they did not deserve asylum status in

the United States. Through policy shifts and growing sentiments of nationalism, former safe havens began to refuse Haitians entry into their countries, making Canada the best choice for migration.

Citizenship and Immigration Policy in Canada

The relative tolerance of the Canadian laws on immigration coupled with the Eden-like image of Canada painted by Haitians located Quebec for the benefit of their friends and relatives in Haiti...led to an increase in immigration as well. (Dejean 1980, p. 7)

Immigration into Canada has changed over the past century. Before World War II, non-Europeans trying to immigrate into Canada were, as a matter of policy, directed toward agricultural jobs and away from urban centres. As the economic opportunities grew immigrants began to stream into the country, but most sought to migrate simply to earn enough money to take back home. The Canadian government was satisfied with the steady stream of migrant workers. These policies changed when, as Yasmeeen Abu-Laban & Christina Gabriel (2002) have stated that the economic aspects of immigration began to be out weighed by political aspects of having non-Europeans in the country. Canadians began to feel that these new immigrants were destroying their way of life, causing irreparable damage to the society. As a response, the government began to restrict immigration based upon race and nationality. But as the economy grew and the Canadian workforce shrank the government began reform immigration laws in 1967. Until then, immigration in Canada was largely focused on European countries and the United States. This had a lot to do with policies and officers who enforced them as they allowed for personal biases to form decisions. But after 1967, the Immigrant Act was passed and new evaluation process for immigrants was instituted

Ninette Kelley & Michael Trebilcock (1998) outlined the new point system, where immigrants were assessed based upon their level of education, job skills and official language knowledge. Candidates that scored over 50 points were deemed acceptable and thus allowed into the country. In 1976, a class system was added to the point system, which evaluated immigrants based upon the individual circumstances. The new criteria placed individuals into three different classes including the family class, refugees and independent immigrants. Immigrants who fit into the family class category had been sponsored by Canadian citizens or permanent residents older than 18; they were able to bring family members into the country. Refugees were defined as people who had been persecuted in their home countries; they had been allowed into the country on humanitarian grounds. Abu-Laban & Gabriel (2002) have stated the independent immigrants were immigrants who had been judged on the point system alone. Migrants from Asia, Africa and the Caribbean began to take advantage of the new non-discriminatory policies that allowed a wider diversity of people into the country.

Migration among My Collaborators

For many of my collaborators, the move to Canada was made in order to follow family members that have already made the journey. All but one of the participants actually named direct political oppression as being the main reason for migration. A common factor among all participants was that they all had chosen Canada as a place to gain opportunities, which were not available in Haiti.

In Toronto, four of my collaborators all came to Canada to follow a spouse or cousins who have already arrived and to pursue economic opportunities. Many of them were brought into Canada through sponsorship by these relatives. My collaborators in

Toronto immigrated into Canada from 1972 to 1992. Only two of my collaborators claimed that they were forced to leave Haiti because of direct political oppression. In their particular case, the family had been targeted by the political regime after the coup of the first Aristide presidency. Mari stated:

[We moved to] Canada...because my husband, he had a good job in Haiti and after... the first coup in Haiti against President Aristide,...my husband he worked as an accountant and he was prosecuted by military who did the coup, presidential coup. So, he had been...incarcerated in prison...Yeah, he was incarcerated, after the coup you know; against Aristide you know the first one. The military government prosecuted him. (Interview, September 14, 2006)

Djim, Mari husband, had been imprisoned by the new regime and the family no longer felt that they could live in Haiti. After the coup, Mari and Djim had to quickly flee Haiti and came into Canada as refugees.

The experiences of my collaborators in Montréal were similar to my collaborators in Toronto. Three of my collaborators stated that they left Haiti because they were seeking to escape political instability, while another collaborator, who left as a child, stated that her parents decided to leave Haiti for a Latin American country in order to pursue better job opportunities. All of the people I talked to in Montréal arrived between 1969 and 1993. These congregants joined an already large Haitian population in Canada. The next section explores the composition of the Haitian immigrant population in Canada.

Migration into Canada

Migration has been transformed throughout the past century including shifts in the number of immigrants and the ethno-cultural composition of immigrants. Statistics Canada (2003) has found that the population of Canada stood just over thirty million in

2001 and of the population over 18.4% were individuals born outside of the country. Almost all recent immigrants have made their way to one of Canada's three major cities Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver. In fact, these three cities combined have received 66.3 percent of the immigrant population in Canada. The population in Toronto was approximately 4.6 million people in 2001 and of those forty four percent were foreign born and eighteen percent of the population were immigrants.

Of the Haitians who came into Canada, the vast majority of them chose to make the province of Québec their home. Among the reasons for immigrating to Quebec were the French language and job opportunities that were targeted toward new French-speaking immigrants. For the majority of Haitians, cities Montréal, Québec City, the Ottawa-Hull area and Toronto were the desired destinations. The next section continues to explore where Haitians have settled in Canada focusing on Québec and Ontario.

Haitians in Québec

Between 1968 and 1974, Haitians increasingly began to migrate into Québec, comprising 14.5% of all immigrants in the province. Three quarters of these Haitians came between 1974 and 1980 numbering approximately 17,860 migrants in all. From Table 1 below, what was derived from Statistics Canada data, one can see the progression of Haitian immigration between 1961 and 2001 in the cities of Toronto and Montréal, in the provinces of Ontario and Québec and in all of Canada.

Table 1: Total population by immigrant status and period of immigration, Haitian immigrants 2001

	Toronto	Montréal	Ontario	Québec	Canada
Before 1961	10	155	10	175	185
1961-1970	85	1,505	260	1,790	2,085
1971-1980	150	14,000	685	14,570	15,385
1981-1990	160	11,950	930	12,785	13,865
1991-2001	170	12,515	1,490	13,415	15,325
Total ⁵	1,120	69,945	6,525	74,465	82,405

(Source: 2001 Statistics Canada, single and multiple responses, 20% sample)

According to Herard Jadotte (1977), Micheline Labelle, Serge Larose, & Victor Piche (1983) and Paul Dejean (1980 & 1990), migration from Haiti into Canada occurred in two distinct waves. The first came between 1963 and 1972, where 70 % of the all Haitians immigrants were highly educated and were employed in professional jobs. Jean-Baptiste (1979) and Dejean (1980) found that the number of Haitians in Quebec increased slowly. For instance, in 1963, the population grew by 525 Haitians and remained steady until 1968 when the population grew by 444 Haitians. Between 1969 and 1971 the number of Haitian immigrants increased dramatically but this trend changed in 1971 to 1972 when they began to decrease.

The second wave began in 1973 and ended in 1977. The Haitian immigrants that came to Canada were very different from previous waves Haitian immigrants. There numbers of Haitians increased greatly during this time. The individuals that came to Québec were less educated than those who came previously. According to Jadotte (1977), the number of high school educated Haitian immigrants grew by 22.6% in 1973 from the previous year while the number of Haitian immigrants with a university degree had not changed significantly over the last six years. These immigrants had become a major contributor to the blue-collar jobs market in Québec.

⁵ Total represented the total number of Haitians in Canada including the non-immigrant population and the immigrant population.

According to Statistics Canada (2001), there were a total of 74,500 people of Haitians descent in Québec, making them the largest Black immigrant community. Haitians have settled all over the island of Montréal and the surrounding area. There were five neighbourhoods within the city that housed the majority of the Haitian immigrant population. These included Rivière des Prairies, Montréal Nord Est, Montréal Nord Ouest, Saint-Michel Nord, and Saint-Michel Sud. In Saint-Michel Sud, Haitian immigrant population makes up twelve percent of the total Haitian population. In Saint-Michel Nord, the Haitian immigrant population made up twenty-five percent, Rivière des Prairies has twenty-four percent, Montréal Nord Ouest twenty-five percent and Montréal Nord Est twenty-six percent of the total Haitian population in Montréal (as cited in <http://atlasim2001.inrs-ucs.quebec.ca/>). These five neighbourhoods have come to house large portions of the Haitian population in Montréal.

Haitians in Ontario

Myer Siemiatycki & Engin Isin (1997) have noted that of the 450,000 Caribbean immigrants who came to Canada in the early 1990's, three-quarters came to live in Ontario. The major contributing countries included Jamaica, Guyana, and Trinidad and Tobago. In total, people of Haitian descent in Toronto as of 2001 numbered approximately 1000 people. Both waves were represented in Ontario, as has been recorded in the Census Canada data, although the numbers were much smaller Metropolitan areas, such as Toronto. Toronto has attracted the most immigrant overall, but it did not attract many Haitian immigrants. In fact, the largest Haitian born population in Ontario resided in the Ottawa-Hull area. The population living in Ottawa-Hull has grown slightly in the past five years, while the Haitian born population in Toronto has

decreased. With the benefits of residing in a French-speaking city, it is no surprise that Haitian immigrants have come to live in cities like Ottawa-Hull and Montréal. But in the pursuit of employment some Haitians have made the journey to Toronto. Haitians that have moved to Toronto often come to the city through internal migration. Feng Hou's (2005) analysis of Statistics Canada data, the author tracked internal migration from 1981 to 2001. Focusing upon Haitian migration out of Montréal and into the rest of Canada one can see a striking trend occurring.

Table 2 : Percentage distribution of immigrants by geographic regions, 1981 and 2001

	Montréal	Toronto	Rest of Ontario
1981	90.9%	0.6%	3.2%
2001	85.7%	1.4%	7.3%

(Source: 1981 and 2001 Censuses, 20% sample micro files, as printed in Feng Hou (2005))

Although the numbers were small, one can see from the table above (Table 2) that as Montréal's Haitian population has slightly decreased by 5.2%, the Haitian population in Toronto and the rest of Ontario has slightly increased by 0.8% and 4.1% respectively.

Migration out of Montréal was not confined to Ontario; it also included the rest of Canada. Haitians have become part of the larger Caribbean community in Toronto, which include Jamaicans and Trinidadians. The Haitian community has remained small throughout the years and thus has not become a visible part of society in Toronto instead; they have blended into the larger Black population.

The next chapter outlines state policies and incorporation in Canada. It also outlines transnational connection maintained among Haitian immigrants.

Chapter 4: “I feel Haitian because this is my origin, so ‘bloodly’ I am Haitian”: Congregant Conceptualization of Belonging

This chapter contextualizes Haitian immigrant’s conceptualization of belonging in Canada. Here, I outline the factors, both inside and outside Haitian immigrant communities that frame their sense of belonging. By looking at these factors I show how immigrants retain old connections to their home country and how they establish new connections in their host country.

Frances Henry (1994), Micheline Labelle and Daniel Salée (2001) have highlighted the profound affect feelings of belonging have had on immigrants’ understanding of their place in Canadian society. In Henry’s book, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism* (1994), he used M. G. Smith’s differential incorporation as his theoretical framework. It stated that some ethnic groups could become more integrated than other ethnic groups. In his analysis, Henry used this theory to outline the inability of some groups to access economic, social, and cultural opportunities within their host society. As a result ‘differential incorporation’ have had a profound effect upon an ethnic group’s ability to feel as though they belong in their host society. In Canada, multiculturalism policies, Québec nationalism, racism and transnational connections have had political and cultural implications that affected immigrants’ sense of belonging.

Milton Myron Gordon has stated that incorporation was a two way process for immigrants: it involved the thoughts and perceptions of those within the host society and the values and attitudes of the ethnic community (as cited in Henry, 1994, p. 14). Similarly, Micheline Labelle and Daniel Salée (2001) have described how immigrants

perceived themselves, how they were conceptualized by their host society, and how these perceptions and conceptualization contributed to helping the immigrant population gain a sense of belonging. Labelle and Salée (2001) state:

First is the strength of transnational bonds, often maintained through remittances to family members or friends living in the country of origin, various practices of international cooperation, and continued solidarity with the motherland, or more simply for purely emotional reasons...Second, the classificatory discourse of state also plays a role. The tendency of both the federal and Québec states to impose ethnocultural and sometimes racial categories for administrative purposes often operates with deeply rooted social stereotypes about ethnic minorities and gives individuals a sense of self marked by difference and social boundaries. As a result, immigrants often feel compelled to adopt a designated identity (p. 291).

In Labelle and Salée's analysis, both the immigrant and the state influenced immigrants' sense of belonging in their host society.

Immigrants maintain loyalties to their home nation through transnational connections and these connections enable immigrants to transmit ideas, monies and news back and forth freely between the borders of their home and host society. Conversely, host countries impose categories upon their immigrant population, which they do not ascribe to but nevertheless feel compelled to take on. It is in this way that the state has a profound effect upon an immigrant's sense of belonging. According to the scholars above, being able to gain a sense of belonging in one's host society is contingent upon factors that originate from both the immigrant and the society they live in. Haitians, in particular, retain strong transnational ties to their home nation, which in turn have a profound effect upon how they perceive their place in Canadian society. Likewise, state policies as well as the perceptions of mainstream society influence the manner in which Haitian immigrants conceptualize their place in Canada.

In this chapter, I explore the theories on transnational links between immigrants and their countries of origin. I also investigate the theories surrounding immigrant incorporation in Canada, focusing upon the provinces of Ontario and Québec.

State Policies and Incorporation

As described above, immigration in Canada has changed drastically over 130 years and has gone from being almost exclusively European to being mostly made up of Asian, Latin American and African individuals. As Yasmeen Abu-Laban & Christina Gabriel (2002) have explained, citizenship policy changed drastically, altering the face of Canadian society. It allowed for a better diversity in the approval process. While these new immigrants entered the country, policy makers had to find a way to get these diverse cultures to live together harmoniously. They hoped that they could make Canadian society into one where all members were accepted equally, and no one was treated differently because of one's beliefs, values, traditions or appearance. The multiculturalism policies were instituted for just that purpose.

Multicultural policies were meant to keep immigrants from being excluded from Canadian society. Before multiculturalism, immigrants in Canada were expected to fully assimilate into Canadian society. As Labelle and Salée (2001) have noted, the notion of total assimilation and integration put forth by government agencies to get all citizens to commit their loyalty fully to Canada in exchange for the privilege of getting the rights and benefits of being a citizen. Before the shift in immigration policy most Canadians were of European origin, the social and political climate was less tolerant of non-Europeans, and laws had not been enacted in order to ensure all citizens had full access to rights. All this changed in 1976 when there was a shift in how the Canadian government

interacted with its citizens. According to Augie Fleras & Jean L. Elliott (1995), the main tenets of multiculturalism were based upon the supposition that ethnically diverse groups within Canadian society wished to retain their unique cultures and that Canadian law and policy should ensure that they were allowed to pursue that end.

Multiculturalism seeks to reinforce each groups worth within Canadian society, in recognition of the ethnic population and their distinctive cultures. Thus the government takes a cultural relativist approach to diversity in order to ensure that all cultures present in Canada are equally beneficial. Integration, instead of assimilation, is taken on as a policy and immigrants and ethnic groups are accepted as they are into Canadian society. Lastly, multiculturalism is actively managed in order to ensure positive results and a cohesive society.

Although, multiculturalism was to be implemented throughout Canada, different provinces chose to interpret each policy in their own way. Québec and Ontario dealt with their diverse populations differently, taking into account not only the distinctiveness of their immigrant populations but also the interests of the state. In the case of Ontario, the province chose to incorporate the federal government's multiculturalism tenets into its provincial policies in 1987. The aim was to recognize and promote diversity in the province and enhance the relations between ethnic minorities and immigrants and the rest of society. The major tenets of multiculturalism in Ontario included the acknowledgement of diversity; seeing this diversity as a representation of strength within society in Ontario; all cultures should have the ability to enjoy all the rights and privileges that are allotted to citizens; and that each person, despite their ethnic affiliations, would be given the opportunity to discover their 'individual potential'.

While Ontario chose to conform to the federal policy Québec did not. The confluence of nationalist pride and a fear of losing their linguistic and cultural heritage, led politicians in Québec to chose to reformulate multiculturalism into a new policy that was more sensitive to their needs and interests and Interculturalism was born from this initiative. In Québec, the federal version of multiculturalism was interpreted as an attack upon French Canadians and their place in Canada.

Gladys L. Symons (2002) has stated that Québec had always been at odds with the federal government's interpretation of pluralism as Québec perceived multiculturalism as a policy that reduced French-Canadians to a minority within Canada putting them on par with new immigrants. This ignored the history and culture of the French-Canadians and it dismissed the distinctiveness of French-Canadian culture. The federal policy on multiculturalism had alienated the French Canadian community. Many believed that the policy would segregate the community and placed them into an inferior position. In the end, it would have barred the community from fully participating in Canadian society.

Instead, politicians from Québec opted to start the 'interculturalism' initiative, which embraced all ethnic groups in Québec, but only under certain conditions. The provisions of this initiative enabled everyone within Québec to be included within Québec society but firmly established the French Canadian culture and language as being paramount in Québec. As Victor Piche (2002) has noted, the policy espoused the need for cultural community maintenance; it sought to bring French Canadian and ethnic communities together by sensitizing French Canadians to the benefits of these ethnic communities; and it sought to facilitate the integration of cultural communities in to

French society. With this new policy, Québec was able to retain their unique cultural identity as well as recognize the individual virtue of all immigrants. These policies have facilitated the inclusion of immigrant and ethnic groups in Canadian society, but these policies have also had negative influences as well.

Challenges to Incorporation and Belonging

Will Kymlicka (1998) has pointed out the benefits of multiculturalism policy in Canada stating that Canada was one of the most successful countries in the world. But other scholars have not had such a positive perspective the Canadian government's attempts at ethnocultural relations. Incorporation into one's host country can be fraught with many obstructions, in Canada; these barriers included the limitations of multicultural policy, Québec nationalism, and racism.

The multiculturalism policy and the liberalization of citizenship allows more immigrants to come into the country, as well as ensures that each of new citizens felt free to maintain their ethnic identity. Despite these efforts multiculturalism and interculturalism cannot ensure complete incorporation. The section below outlines the different ways in which incorporation can be hindered. Both individuals and the state undermine these policies through acts of discrimination and institutional racism.

Micheline Labelle & Daniel Salée (2001) have stated that the state was not able to adequately reconcile the need ubiquity and authority and enable individuals to retain their unique cultures and perspectives in the early 1970's. Most often this meant that policies meant to ensure individual rights such as multiculturalism are at odds with state imperatives. Labelle and Salée described the challenges Canadian government, including Québec, faces when it sought to amalgamate ethnic cultures into Canadian society. They

have documented immigrants' descriptions of isolation from Canadian and Quebec society. Labelle and Salée found that categorizations of immigrants have consequences for immigrants such as feelings of marginalization. On the one hand, the government sought to embrace immigrants and ethnic groups into Canadian society as they saw the importance of recognizing diversity and plurality within the country. On the other hand, they recognized that a unified Canadian society was vital to maintaining of the state. Reconciling these two initiatives proved difficult for the Canadian government and many immigrants and ethnic minorities were left feeling isolated from Canadian society and politics. Multiculturalism helps to bring these two divergent initiatives together; nevertheless the state continues to pursue the goal of maintaining a unitary citizenship.

Micheline Labelle (2004) went on to say that the Canadian and Québec governments actively sought to create a policy that embraced pluralism and diversity in Canada; one that encouraged immigrants and ethnic groups to become fully incorporated in the civic and institutional framework. But in reality, many immigrants and ethnic groups felt that both governments' policies only continued to make distinctions between themselves and non-immigrants and minorities. As a result, immigrants remained distrustful of government agencies as the differences that existed between the discourses of the state and the realities of economic and political disenfranchisement continued to effect marginalized groups. Although these policies were meant to enhance inclusion they were often not enough to ensure inclusion for immigrants.

Another obstacle to incorporation was nationalist discourse in Québec. In their discussion on nationalism in Québec, Labelle & Salée (2001) noted that state-building processes have led to the secularization of institutions; the recognition of French as the

official language; protection of minority cultures and languages through legislation; and administrative contribution to immigrant selection and integration have fortified an identifiable and distinct Québécois civic consciousness. These processes, heavily influenced by nationalism in Québec, ensured that a distinct Québécois identity was kept intact. The government of Québec often isolated ethnic groups and new immigrants from the state and the society because it benefits the political and social sections of Québec society although they were isolated for many different reasons. The two main groups that were affected by nationalism in Québec were Anglophone and Allophone who do not ascribe to the historic aspects of the nationalist agenda. Some ethnic groups that do speak French do not ascribe to a Québécois identity and thus choose to ascribe to the larger Canadian identity or cling more tightly to their ethnic identity. They felt that the policies sought to fortify the French language while simultaneously eliminating opportunities to use their own language.

Another factor in the incorporation of immigrants into Canadian society is racism and discrimination, which is experienced by ethnic minorities and immigrants. Canada has a strong reputation for being a society that ensures rights and privileges for all. Compared to other countries Canada usually deserves its reputation but despite its reputation and policies, discrimination and racism continue to exist within Canada.

Race has been defined by Michael Omi & Howard Winant (1994) as a "... concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies...selection of these particular human features for purposes of racial signification is always and necessarily a social and historical process" (p. 55). Here Omi and Winant have described race as a biologically defined historical process that was

dependent upon specific historical situations. Aspects of racism are subjected to a historical context, thus making conceptions of race different in for each particular community. Such aspects include parameters such as race classification and institutional structures.

For Frances Henry (1994), racism had four different components including individual (attitudinal, everyday); institutional, systemic and cultural/ideological. Through these four components Henry outlined how racism has permeated all sections of society and effected ethnic minorities in all segments of life. From work to the shopping mall, everyday interactions could be tainted with the unsavoury taste of racism.

Racism in Canada has been described as being two fold; one being the ‘culture of racism’, that is, one that was based upon ‘common sense’ stereotypical notions of non-whites. The other was institutional, that is, one that was instilled within the policies of governing bodies and was a source of economic and political discrimination such as unfair hiring practices that disadvantage ethnic minorities (as cited in Duncan (2000), p. 57).

The Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC) general description of racism also defined racism as a systemic and cultural phenomenon. The OHRC (2007) stated that:

...an ideology that either explicitly or implicitly asserts that one racialized group is inherently superior to others...At the individual level, racism may be expressed in an overt manner but also through everyday behaviour that involves many small events in the interaction between people...At the institutional or systemic level, racism is evident in organizational and government policies, practices, and procedures and “normal ways of doing things” which may directly or indirectly, consciously or unwittingly, promote, sustain, or entrench differential advantage for some people and disadvantage for others...At a societal level, racism is evident in cultural and ideological expressions that underlie and sustain dominant values and

beliefs (Section 6, Para 1, 7, 9 & 10).

Similarly, the Ministère de l'immigration et des communautés culturelles (2006)

had a similar description, stating that:

...the term “racism” is used vaguely to describe neo-Nazi racist violence, prejudice, lack of openness to diversity, discrimination based on prejudice and discrimination arising from institutional practices not adapted to an intercultural context. All social and economic inequalities and all difficulties stemming or not from discrimination are also presented by many as manifestations of racism if they particularly affect immigrants or individuals from cultural communities. (p. 9)

Above, I outline the ways in which nationalist sentiments in Ontario and Québec both similar definitions of racism and discrimination. Both policies defined racism as a system of belief that espouses the superiority of one group over another; it was institutional as it was systematically manifest in government policies; it was also cultural, as it was found in everyday situations.

This section deals with racism and its effects upon an immigrants' sense of belonging in Canada. Although policies exist to prevent discrimination and to unite all citizens of Canada, immigrants continue to feel as if they do not belong to Canadian society. Immigrants, in turn, feel that their host country is rejecting them. At the same time immigrants also feel that they are being pulled toward their home country and as a result they maintain transnational links to members of family they leave behind.

In the section above, I outline how the state and some of its citizens can challenge an immigrants' sense of belonging to their host country. Next, I take a look at how immigrants conceptualize their place in Canadian society. Then I delve into how parishioners in both churches conceptualize their belonging in Canada. The first part of this section examines the long-distance nationalism that congregants feel toward Haiti

and how it shapes congregant's perception of their belonging in Canada.

Nation (-State) and Belonging

Transnationality has previously been used to describe the activities of multinational corporations in order to conceptualize the easy flow of capital and knowledge between the different branches of corporations in different nations. The concept of transnationality has begun to be used to describe people in the same way. Recently it has become a major focus within the social sciences including Anthropology, where scholars such as Arjun Appadurai and Nina Glick Schiller and her colleagues have outlined how these transnational connections have begun to define interactions within our globalized world.

In order to understand how the connection between immigrants and their home nations are maintained, one must look at the personal ties these immigrants are preserved and the movement of money, values, ideas and artefacts between the migrant and their nation or origin. Whether through family, friends or the media, migrants preserve links to their homeland that were fluid, moving through established national borders that connect people in many different nations, a process known as deterritorialization. According to Arjun Appadurai (1996), deterritorialization occurs when people, groups, organizations and monies move through the world unfettered by boundaries and unconstrained by singular identities. Instead, it allows for individuals to create multiple, shifting, and imagined identities.

Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, & Christina Blanc-Szanton (1994) have defined transnationalism as "...the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (p.7).

As these borders seemingly disappeared, nations were able to reach out to individuals beyond the confines of their nation. Likewise, individuals were able to reach back to their nations of origin without having to reside within the nation.

Nina Glick Schiller & George Fouron (1998) discussed deterritorialization by comparing traditional notions of the nation-state with newer deterritorialized nations.

They stated:

...whereas traditional conceptualizations of the nation-state imply fixed and well-delineated boundaries, recently the government officials of a number of states such as Haiti with significant emigrant populations have begun to reconceptualize the nature of the nation-state so that its population is no longer defined as residing solely within the national territory (p. 133).

Here, Glick Schiller and Fouron described how nation-states beginning to be re-defined. Nations around the world have remained permeable and have reached out to Haitian migrants around the world.

Nations establish loyalties with individuals in a way that induce individuals to identify on a level that that have not existed previously. In the end, this process allows for the population, both those within and without its boundaries to strongly identify with the nation-state. As nations traverse national boundaries and engage people beyond their physical reach they also begin to engender feelings of nationalism or 'long-distance nationalism', as Glick Schiller and her colleagues has label it, which enables former citizens to once again engage their former states. The next section describes the phenomenon of long distance nationalism.

Imagined Solidarity and Nationalism

Benedict Anderson (1991) gave some insight into the nature of established connections between individuals within a nation-state and how these connections have

created imagined communities and engendered nationalist sentiments. Anderson stated, “[The connection between individuals are] imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (1991, p. 6). According to Anderson, nations were made up of individuals who shared a sense of community and commonality. This sense of community was imagined based upon notions of language, culture, history, suffering, and territory that were shared among the nation’s citizens.

Similarly, Eric J. Hobsbawm has described nationalist sentiments shared among individuals as invented traditions. Hobsbawm (1983) stated:

‘[i]nvented tradition’ is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature... [they serve three different purposes] a) those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities, b) those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority and c) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour (pp. 1 & 9).

To Hobsbawm nationalism was inspired by traditions, which had been invented by ethnic groups. Unlike Anderson, Hobsbawm concluded that these traditions were invented deliberately and used to construct histories that helped to bond individuals within the nation together.

Anthony P. Cohen also believed that within a nation were symbolically connected individuals. “The symbols of community are mental constructs: they provide people with the means to make meaning. In so doing, they also provide them with the means to express the particular meanings which the community has for them” (19). Cohen’s conceptualization of nationalism outlined the connection between individuals within a

nation as symbolic.

Joane Nagel (1994) has noted that all of these scholars described the same phenomenon, a symbolic unity among individuals who believed that they shared similar values, traditions, history and culture. As globalization has taken hold, imagined connections between individuals have expanded past the borders of the state. As a result, individuals have begun to imagine their solidarity with others in nations outside of their country of residence. Before I describe how this has changed the concept of nationalism, I outline the traditional notions of the connection between the individual and the state. For this, I look at Thomas Faist's description of traditional citizenship.

To Faist (2000), traditional conceptions of citizenship include notions of an institutionalized solidarity with the state, where 'reciprocal transactions' occurred between both parties, which allowed for sets of claims and rights to be enforced. Traditional notions of citizenship tied individuals to a single state. Although this definition of citizenship remained salient in the world today, a new conceptualization of citizenship that was more fluid has come to light. As a result, the relationship between nations and its citizens have been rewritten in order to enable citizens to reside outside of the state. This type of citizenship was far less formal and yet far more innate than dual citizenship. Legal rights were not extended with this type of citizenship; instead a symbolic sense of belonging was extended to one's nations of origin.

Peggy Levitt (1998), Micheline Labelle & Franklin Midy (1999) and Nancy Foner (2001) have noted that transnational links have remained salient due to ease of travel, the increasing importance of migrants in their home countries and the increasing importance of home nations in the lives of migrants. Transmigrants have developed identities that

connected to two or more societies. Also, Glick Schiller et al. (1992) and Reuel Rogers (2001) have stated that multiple identities have developed among these transmigrants. They stated that retaining complex connections fostered fluid and multiple identities that were grounded within the different nations. What Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton call multiple identities are the legal and symbolic citizenship I describe above. Through these transnational 'social fields' individuals are able to maintain links to multiple nations.

As, Linda Basch (2001) has pointed out that immigrants go through a period of self-rediscovery, where through the impetus of their home nations they have maintained links to their home nations. As an individual claimed her statutory rights and maintained her transnational links she became a 'transmigrant'. Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, & Christina Blanc-Szanton (1992) and José Itzigsohn, Carlos Dore Cabral, Esther Hernandez Medina, & Obed Vázquez (1999) have defined a transmigrant as an individual who interacted and exchanged with other individuals outside their own political and geographical boundaries. These social fields were cultivated within the country of origin and the country of residence. Many different relationships were developed and were maintained by these processes including ones that were familial, economic, social, organizational, religious and political in nature.

Using Haitian immigrants in The United States of America as an example Glick Schiller & Fouron (2001) stated that there were three ways in which Haitian immigrants engaged in long distance nationalism:

Haitian transmigrants weave one strand of their border-crossing nationalism in response to the way they experience "race" in the United States...On such occasions, persons of color, whatever their legal status, find themselves on the wrong side of the color line. A second strand that

makes up the warp and woof of long-distance nationalism is the complex relationship that Georges maintains to Haiti – one in which family obligation, memory, pride, and despair are intertwined...[The last strand resides in relationships with those who remain in the homeland. Marjorie] defined all those living abroad as family members who continued to have obligations to those they “left behind” (pp. 93-94).

Transmigrants retained links to their home country for various reasons. It was in this way that Haitian immigrants actively engaged in transnational connections to their homeland. Individuals across vast spaces, which were defined by national borders, claimed kinship to each other based upon a set of invented traditions, which were infused with a symbolic meaning. Because of globalization, nationalism transcended national borders and began to reach out to individuals residing outside nation borders. Transmigrants retained nationalist sentiments toward their homeland and continued to be transnational citizens of country of origin. In turn, transnationality allowed for a new understanding of the manner in which immigrants understood the spaces in which they lived, and their sense of community and identity. The next section takes a closer look at my collaborators sense of community and identity within Canada.

Belonging Among Congregants in Toronto and Montréal

In the following section I outline how congregants conceptualize transnational connections and their Black identity within Canada, taking a close look at how each the context of city influence members of both congregations. Also in this section, I examine congregant’s conceptualization of racism and how it affects them living in Toronto and Montréal. The last section explores integration and assimilation as congregants.

Transnational Connections and Multiple Identities

Being able to reach back to ones home country and make a substantial and fortified connections through transnational links have been important aspects of each

parishioner's identity. Jose Itzigsohn (2000) has outlined six different areas of transnationality:

...transnationalism as a social morphology; a type of consciousness; a mode of cultural production; an avenue of capital; a site of political engagement; and the (re)construction of place a locality (p.1128).

Of these six different areas of transnationality, my collaborators described their links as a type of consciousness, one where they felt connected to their home country. Congregants in Toronto and Montréal have stated that they continued to feel a strong relationship to their homeland; some felt that their connection to Haiti represented their primary nationality, other congregants even felt their connection to Haiti was so deep that it was 'in the blood', while others negotiated between multiple nationalities and identities. The parishioners' connection to a Black identity, French identity, and Canadian nationality varied and all but one parishioner asserted that they had lost their Haitian identity. Below I review a few of my collaborators descriptions of their identity. Also, I outline the many different identities these parishioners ascribed to and how these identities helped to shape the parishioners conceptualization of their place in Canada.

In Toronto, all of the congregants that I interviewed stated that they felt a strong affiliation to their home country, but they also felt that they held a strong affiliation to their host country. Chimene, the wife of one of the pastors in Toronto and an active member of the church, maintained multiple identities after moving to Canada. She felt a strong connection to her Black identity and mentioned it first when I asked her to describe her identity. But when asked about her Haitian and Canadian identity she asserted that she identified strongly to all three but the strongest connection had always been to Haiti.

Chimene: I can just say I'm a Black woman

Debie: And not Haitian you don't feel Haitian.

Chimene: Yes, of course, 100 percent (laugh)⁶ Haitian.

Debie: And what about Canadian?

Chimene: Of course, Canadian by paper but I'm Haitian

Debie: Haitian first.

Chimene: Yeah, because I'm born in Haiti and no one can change my colour.

(Interview, September 13, 2007)

When discussing her Haitian identity, Chimene stated that her identity was deeply embedded within her. It was rooted in the fact that Haiti was her national and familial home. Her identity was, in this case, multiple and varied as it included all her including her Black, Haitian and Canadian identities. Despite many identities she felt that her Haitian identity held the most profound meaning. Chimene was not the only one who claimed her Haitian identity was the one she felt the strongest link to.

A fellow parishioner at the church in Toronto, Mari, stated that her association to Haiti was an innate part of her identity. Indeed, Mari claimed that she had maintained a strong connection to her Haitian heritage and her homeland through her blood. What was most interesting to note was that despite her 'blood' being Haitian she was able to embrace her newer Canadian identity that she attained through her citizenship. She stated:

It depends on the context; (both she and I laugh) I must be a Haitian more than Canadian, deep you know, very deep inside me. I must feel being, you know, Haitian deeply. But I also feel, you know, Canadian. But to answer your question, I, yeah, I think I especially feel being Haitian.

I feel Haitian because this is my origin, so bloodly I am Haitian and I always [have] been, and I will be always Haitian because my mother is Haitian, my father is Haitian, all my origin,... are Haitian, so this is the reason I first of all feel being Haitian. But socially, and uh especially to respond to certain needs I just, I identify myself as Canadian. I feel being

⁶ Parenthesis within dialogue connotes a non-verbal communication during the interview.

Canadian because I live as Canadian you know, in Canada and until now I still consider being, considered as Canadian.

First of all I have my citizenship anyways, and I have no restriction about my right, you know, in Canada. I have the same rights as original Canadian and when I need to use those rights, I use them and nobody never told me that 'you don't have right to use that, those rights, you know. And uh, some privilege also that I have as Canadian so it allow me to feel being Canadian.

(Mari, interview, September 14, 2006)

Mari's Haitian identity was so fundamental to her that it literally ran through her veins and was the substance upon which her familial, cultural and national connection to Haiti was based. Her link to Haiti was something inside of her, an intangible presence that fundamentally made her Haitian despite her citizenship and her time spent away from Haiti. As fundamental as her Haitian identity was, she was still able to recognize that she had a place in Canada based upon her citizenship. But, her citizenship and her blood were very different parts of her identity. She illustrated this distinction when she described her 'socially Canadian' citizenship in a different manner than her blood. Her Canadian citizenship represented a set of rights that she was free to exercise, they were clearly very important to her but it was not a fundamental like her blood. Mari situated herself between two very different nations, ones that she had continued to live within while living her life with her husband Djim in Toronto. Claiming both her old Haitian nationality and her new Canadian citizenship, she demonstrated how she juggled both her 'blood' affiliation and 'socially Canadian' identity while living in Canada and attending a Haitian Pentecostal church in Toronto.

The Haitian congregants in Montréal gave similar answers to those in Toronto. Most of my collaborators described their identity as being first and foremost Haitian, as they did in Toronto. Also, just like the congregants in Toronto, the congregants in

Montréal had multiple identities including Haitian, Black, Québécois, and Christian. One member of the church in particular, Pastor Mōise, stated that he felt a strong association to his Québécois identity and that his identity had changed over the time he spent in Canada. As a result, his identity was not singularly Haitian anymore, instead he felt connected to Québec also. Unlike Mari, he felt that his Canadian and Québécois identity had become a fundamental part of his identity.

Debie: When you identify yourself what do you first think of? Why?

Pastor Mōise: (laugh) You know I came here in nineteen seventy, first I come in nineteen sixty nine, sixty seven, sixty nine, seventy two and now I'm fifty seven years old so you could imagine I got I spent more time here then my country so I consider myself as a good Quebecer.

Debie: Not, Haitian first?

Pastor Mōise: Naturally, because at home I don't speak Creole with my wife as you see she came in and spoke to me in French.

(Interview, November 1 and 16, 2006)

After living in Montréal for over 32 years, Pastor Moïse had come to identify with more than his Haitian heritage; he began to identify with a Québécois heritage as well. When I interviewed to him, he firmly asserted his discomfort with being attached to a singular identity and he particularly did not want to be considered solely Haitian. Instead he felt that his identity was multiple and fluid.

Pastor Hebert and Nerett also felt that they had multiple identities that changed throughout time and included many different nations. Pastor Hebert stated that he identified with a variety of identities including African and Haitian. Later on, Pastor Hebert described how his identity was not necessarily self ascribed, particularly the minority category. Within Québec, Pastor Hebert, felt that others only perceived him as being Haitian. He also asserted that society in Québec had established norms that he could never fit into. Being a Black man of Haitian descent, he felt that he could only be

seen as a 'visible minority' or a member of an 'ethnic group, or 'cultural group' to mainstream society. Concerning his citizenship, he stated that once again Québec society does not categorize him as a Canadian citizen despite the fact that he received his citizenship in 1990. Instead, his place within society would always be separate. He stated, "I have Canadian citizenship but they don't call me Canadian" (Pastor Hebert, interview, October 18, 2006). Pastor Hebert's claimed his identity was African, Haitian and Canadian but despite this he felt that his identity was not acknowledged by mainstream society and so he felt that he had been misrepresented by others.

Nerett, a congregant at L'Assemblée du Prophétie Montréal, also stated that he felt that his citizenship in Canada made him Canadian. Also, he sought to contribute to Canadian society because that was what he felt a Canadian citizen must do. His identity was fluid and had changed since he first arrived in Canada. Nerett stated:

I've been living in Montréal now for 32 years; I don't feel as pure Haitian. Myself, I don't think of myself as being Haitian. I feel like I am a citizen of the whole world. I don't commit myself to one particular nationality. Often I'm reminded by other people that I'm of Haitian origin, but uh, in my everyday life I'm only a Canadian citizen doing my best to contribute to progress in the community as a whole.
(Nerett, interview, October 25, 2006)

Just as Pastor Hebert had found himself placed within the restrictive Haitian category, Nerett also found that he was reminded constantly being of his Haitian descent. Despite the fact he felt like he was part of Canada and part of Québec, he still clung to his Haitian identity. He also felt connected to Haiti, Québec as well as Canada showing that his identity was no longer singular; instead his identity was housed within two different nations.

On the other hand Celine, a second-generation Haitian woman, did not claim a

Québécois identity; instead she felt a strong connection to her Haitian heritage. She stated:

I think I would say that I'm Haitian, I would say I'm Haitian, then I do not know, it depends on the person, what I would say to the person, but basically I know I would say I'm Haitian. Ethnicity all the way. I think it kind of includes everything, for me so...
(Celine, interview, November 7, 2006)

When asked to describe the distinction she made between her Haitian identity and her Québécois identity, she stated that she felt estranged from the culture that surrounded her. It was the culture of her parents that she felt most comfortable.

She stated:

Celine: They... okay I'm born here I'm a Montrealer. But okay, I was raised a certain way, I heard the Creole language all the time but I still speak French mostly, I feel most at ease with it, but I believe the Creole is very important because I cannot identify, even though I'm born here I cannot identify myself to, as a Quebecer, I cannot relate to that culture because this is not my reality.

Debie: Why, if I can ask this question, why don't you associate yourself with Quebec culture?

Celine: Because, there are certain things that they would say, say I would be at work and listening to their stories I wouldn't be able to understand yet I'm born here but their reality is different from mine. I wasn't, I didn't, I wasn't raised in the same way as in the way of expressing myself there are certain, the mentality is different, that's one of them as well so that's why even though like they say you should say 'you're Canadian, a Quebecer because you are here' I'm not truly a Quebecer, truly Canadian, yet I was born here but because of how I've been raised and my parents when they came out they came out straight from Haiti and so they were brought up their own background and they gave it to me so that's way I can't, say that there are certain things that Quebecers would do and understand and I would have difficulty of understanding and I believe the same way for them so I guess that's why I say that.

(Interview, November 7, 2006)

For Celine, being Haitian was more important than any other identity, as she felt that being Haitian represented her completely. Using language as an example, Celine affirmed that she felt a stronger connection to Haiti. Although Celine could speak French and did

on a regular basis she still felt that speaking Haitian Creole represented her and her cultural heritage better than French. She felt more comfortable using the Haitian language and being within her Haitian culture.

These congregants had many different identities, which spanned Haiti and Canada and included racial categories, and provincial identities. Some of their identities were self-ascribed and some were ascribed for them regardless of their opinions to the contrary. Most remarkable about these interviews was that the congregants had many different conceptualizations about their identities based upon their experiences. While some embraced their only Haitian nationality, others embraced only their Canadian identity, while still others embraced both nationalities. What was constant about all these congregants was that they had maintained many different identities, some linked to their past and some linked to their present. Nationality was an important part of the congregants' identities, but it did not cover all of their identities. Next I explore how Black identity, racism and has shaped their world.

Black Identity and Racism

In the time that my collaborators spent in Canada they have had very different experiences. These experiences have influenced their perceptions of their black identity and how racism functioned in Canada. In general, my collaborators stated that being Black meant being of African ancestry. Pastor Delinois, one of the pastors at the church in Toronto, defined the Black community as follows:

...because [Blacks]⁷ come from different parts of the world like Africa, actually we are African from the ancestor, we came from Haiti, from Jamaica, from Africa from so many parts of the African countries so we

⁷ The word[s] within square brackets was/were included for the comprehension of the reader. They indicate what the collaborator was referring to during the interview.

all different, even within the family, we're all different. God create us unique but you have to try your best to be involved to help the community group.

(Pastor Delinois, interview, August 1, 2006)

In his description of Black identity, Pastor Delinois noted that although members of the Black community come from different places, they still shared a sense of commonality. They all shared the same ancestry and dealt with the same issues no matter where they lived or where they originated from. He also asserted that people within the Black category needed to make an effort to get involved within the community and ensure that it is uplifted as a whole.

Mari had a similar conceptualization of Black identity:

I describe the Black community in Canada as a multi-ethnic community. Because ethnicity for me is not, ethnicity is not only the colour of the skin; ethnicity goes [further] for that. Some people has uh, light skin but they are not white they are Black; they are Black because they come from Black countries, if I could say that. They have Black origin anyways so this is the reason why I describe the Black community first of all as multi-ethnic community and so unfortunately it's not a united community unfortunately, so uh, because to much Black people don't consider themselves as Black as part of the Black community you know they marginalized themselves or they marginalize the Black community as a community...

(Mari, interview, September 14, 2006)

She noted that in Canada, the Black identity was multicultural, originating from many different countries. Mari recognized that even though an individual had been a member of the Black community they might not share the same culture and traditions. The multi-ethnic aspects of the Black community were hindrances to unification among Blacks in Canada, as they prevented the Black community from being truly united. Some did not believe that their Black was very important.

Pastor Neder also noted the effect that the differences in nationality had on the Black community in Toronto and that as a result members within the community had remained separate. But Pastor Neder was more optimistic about the future of the community and he asserted his desire to get the congregation to engage the larger Black community in Toronto.

We feel that we are part of the Black community... because we are Black, we don't come from the same country like Jamaica, but we consider ourselves Haitian, we consider ourselves as Black community, if a Black community has something, like, that concern us we are ready to participate with them.

(Pastor Neder, interview, August 20, 2006)

Pastor Neder felt connected to all other Black people no matter their nationality as he felt that he shared the same experience with them. Pastor Delinois, Mari, and Pastor Neder all gave similar descriptions of what the Black community and in them they all recognized that people of African origin come from many different parts of the world. This fundamentally impacted the unification of the community. Nevertheless, all congregants believed that they were Black as well as Haitian.

In reference to themselves, all but one of my collaborators replied that they did ascribe to a Black identity and that it was a fundamental part of their identity. Mari was one of my collaborators who strongly identified with her Black identity.

Debie: Do you feel that you belong to the Black community in Canada?

Mari: Absolutely.

Debie: Why do you feel that?

Mari: Because it's visible, (laugh) it's visible so I can't escape this reality, this is a reality, it's a fact. So the colour of my skin is Black... Yes, I feel being part of the Black community. Absolutely, no doubt.

(Interview, September 14, 2006)

Here, Mari discussed how the colour of her skin placed her in the Black category. To her it was an unchangeable fact. Despite the inevitability of her skin colour, she still felt that

she was a member of the Black community and accepted her position within it with pride.

Pastor Delinois also felt that being part of the Black community and that it was an essential and unchangeable:

Debie: Do you feel that you belong to the Black community in Canada?

Delinois: Yes.

Debie: Why do you feel that?

Delinois: Something we cannot change, you cannot change your skin, so that means it's better if you try to accept who you are, and involve in...[getting] yourself whatever [it is] that can help to make your [world better], its good.

(Interview, August 11, 2006)

For Celine, her skin colour automatically made her a part of the Black community and she recognized that others had also placed her in this category.

...they always told me I'm Black...First, I guess it's not too hard to see that I'm Black...Yes, I do, no I really, I really do believe that I belong to the Black community and it's not, when they say Black I don't limited myself to Haitians and do believe that there's a variety [of] perspective[s] to see as well, cause whenever I see a Black person that's actually successful at something and has a good career I feel proud because this kind of my root but it's not my direct root but I can feel that I can identify with that person and I have a certain pride towards that.

(Celine, interview, November 7, 2006)

This last statement was similar to that of Pastor Hebert's above, where Pastor Hebert felt that he had been ascribed the Black category. Celine also felt that she had been ascribed to the Black category and although she ascribed to the category herself, she felt that the other identities she ascribed to were not recognized by mainstream society. Regardless of the problems with ascription, Celine did feel a strong connection to others within the Black category.

In Montréal, Pastor Moïse gave his feelings about being Black. At first Pastor Moïse appeared to be reticent about being included in the Black category and stated that it was a label that was ascribed to him just as Pastor Hebert, Mari and Pastor Delinois had

stated above. But similar to those members, he felt pride for his Black identity and felt fulfilment when other Blacks progressed and achieved prosperity.

Yes, now I am trying to reach every elected Black [person] all over Canada and Québec and Montréal. I will have my first meeting with them on January so we contact[ed] all of them already and to let them know they have to open their eyes with the Black community because most of our young people are in the jail, the jail population is not correct it is not good correspondence with...suppose we have fifteen percent Black on the outside you should have fifteen percent [in the jails] but now [it is] forty percent, you understand me so we are organizing and put[ting] the statistic and let them know, the elected person I mean deputy, municipality, provincial and federal.

(Pastor Moïse, interview, November 13 and 16, 2006)

Pastor Moïse was very cognisant of the manner in which Blacks were treated in Canadian society. He was particularly aware of the inequalities that ensured the high rates of young Black men in prison. Pastor Moïse recognized that these problems affected all Blacks no matter their nationality and brought together many different leaders in order to address the issue. His sense of his Black identity was one that enabled him to discern his connection to Blacks of other nationalities.

George, in Toronto, stated that his Black identity was present but it did not define him. Unlike my other collaborators his Black identity was not a matter of fact.

And Black, why I don't consider myself Black, well I don't think I'm defined by my colour, because I can meet Black in the street and have no, any type of relationship with them at all, don't know them, I don't even know their culture, maybe I can't relate even if they are Black.

(George, interview, September 11, 2006)

George was the only one of my collaborators who did not claim a Black identity because he did not feel any kind of affinity with other Blacks as his Haitian identity was most important to him. Instead of accepting the identity that was ascribed by mainstream society, he chose to continue to distinguish himself and other Haitians and from

individuals who of African decent.

Black identity had many different definitions for my collaborators. It consisted of many different nationalities and many different experiences. Despite this, most claimed their there was a common thread running through the lives of all Blacks and most stated that this thread connected them to all Blacks such as discrimination and racism. It was in this way that my collaborators felt that they were members of the Black community. My collaborators have shared their stories about their experience with discrimination and have related how discrimination and racism shaped their lives in Canada.

When congregants were asked about racism, all had stated that they had experienced racism at work, school or elsewhere in their daily lives. In all cases the congregants perceived that they had been discriminated against because they were Haitian or because they were Black.

All of my collaborators also agreed that racism in Toronto was a vastly different experience for Haitians compared to racism in Montréal. They stated that racism was far more diffuse than it was in Montreal and that they were not targeted directly, instead they experienced a more general form of racism. Jamaicans were much more visible in Toronto and therefore were much more of a target for discriminatory acts.

In Montréal, congregants felt that racism and discrimination was often based upon their Haitian heritage, this made them the sole target of this discrimination. Racism was much more of a burden for Haitians in Montréal. To my collaborators at The PA Toronto, racism in Toronto existed in contrast to racism in Montréal. The differences between the two cities were an influential factor in the congregant's conceptualization of what it was like to live with racism. As a result, many of my collaborators stated that it

could be worse, especially when one considered Montréal; being to blend in was a good thing, in Toronto.

One of my collaborators, George, accentuated this point aptly when he stated that racism in Toronto was not specifically targeted at Haitians. This was because they were not as visible to the general public. In fact, Haitians were almost completely indistinguishable from other Black immigrants within Canadian society. This invisibility enabled Haitians to escape any kind of direct discrimination. For instance, he felt that his knowledge of French and the accent with which he spoke caused people to think that he had emigrated from a French speaking African country. When communication was not a factor, George stated that he was often assumed to be Jamaican. This was simply because of the large presence of Jamaican immigrants; all other nationalities have been obscured from mainstream society. Since George's nationality was so ambiguous in Toronto he felt that although racism existed, it was not focused upon Haitians as it had been in Montréal. Instead, he felt that racism affected him in a far more general.

George noted some examples of discrimination in Montréal to illustrate his point:

Debie: Do you think that there is a racism problem for Haitians here in Toronto?

George: I would say uhm, yes, there's racism not toward Haitian as a group as a community because of the number because the size I would say it's part of the racism the whole group of black people but not toward Haitians because it difficult sometimes for someone in Toronto if they want to make racism to say well because he's Haitian. Because the community is so small they may just take as someone from Africa or from Jamaica, see what I'm saying so it's not targeted to our group and the reason why is because of the size, it's not, it's a visible, were not a visible minority in term of the way Haitian are in Montréal compared to here.

Debie: So, there is a problem but not as large as Montréal?

George: Yes, as the larger side, yes we suffer as anyone from Jamaica, someone from Jamaica would they cannot identify you because by the kind of accent that you have and the place where you work, but they wouldn't say, well the way you speak your Haitian you could be from

Senegal too because their speaking French as well over there because they have the same kind of accent. But it's not targeted toward Haitian. I don't think in Toronto they make a big distinction between Haitian and Jamaican let's say. The size in that case is very important.

(Interview, September 11, 2006)

For George, racism in Toronto was not specifically targeted at Haitians because of the size of the community compared to other Black immigrants. Even in the shade of an ambiguous identity, George stated that Haitian immigrants experienced a type of racism that affected all Blacks in Toronto, one that was not targeted toward them specifically. The differences lay in the way that Haitians in Toronto and Montréal were affected by racism, especially in comparison to Jamaicans in Toronto. The Haitian population was low and as a result they had a low level of visibility; this caused them to be grouped with other Blacks in Toronto. According to George, this enabled Haitians to avoid the full force of racism in Toronto and in this case. In the end, George saw invisibility as being beneficial.

This was particularly interesting if one considers Haitians in the United States. Schiller & Fouron (2001) and Flore Zephir (1996) have discussed the notion of invisibility for Haitians in New York City, where it had been documented that Haitians often felt pushed together with other Blacks; which in turn obscured their identities. Many Haitians resisted the Black or African American category because they felt that they were being forced to accept an inferior position in the United States. Instead, they preferred to try to distinguish themselves from African Americans. Unlike Haitian immigrants in The United States of America, Haitians in Toronto wanted to remain indistinguishable from other Blacks in the city as they felt it enabled them to escape the full force of racism.

Other congregants, in Toronto, have found that there was a large difference in the Haitian experience of racism in Toronto and Montréal. Having lived in both cities, Chimene did not see racism as being an insurmountable problem for Haitians in Toronto.

Debie: Do you feel like racism is a problem for Haitian in Toronto?

Chimene: Racism in everywhere even at home. Even in your family, we cannot stop racism as we think, racism is everywhere.

Debie: Do you think racism in Toronto is worse than racism in Montréal maybe back in Haiti?

Chimene: No, because what I discover in Toronto when I came in 1983, I remember they want to ask my husband if he has anyone who want to work at that time because jobs w[ere] like this, but you know time[s] change but what I believe, I believe that as long as you have potential, potentiality as long as you can do the job I don't see there is no racism, of course there is racism but the level is not very, very high as we can think because I believe as long as you can do the job it can happen, to the percentage is not very high in Toronto.

(Interview, September 13, 2006)

Before moving to Toronto she believed that it would be a safe haven for her and her family. This was the result of having experience in discriminatory acts first hand in the pursuit of a job. After living in Montréal for only four months, she experienced employment discrimination as a clothing manufacturer. After waiting the entire day for an interview, she was told that there were no new positions. When asked why she felt that she had discriminated against in Montréal she simply stated "I am Haitian". Racism's omnipresence in Montréal made it hard to escape, but in Toronto racism could be avoided to a certain extent. Although racism existed everywhere including Toronto, my collaborators felt that it was not as high as in Montréal.

In Montréal, many of my collaborators told me personal stories about how they had been discriminated against. Their stories ranged from being verbally harassed on the Metro to an attempt to deprive a congregant of an education at a university. One

parishioner in particular, Nerett, stated that racism was ever-present in Montréal, especially against Haitians. He stated that Haitians did not only have to be good at their jobs and in school but they had to be better than anyone else in order to get respect and recognition. He also stated that many Haitians do positive things in Montréal yet they were still vilified by mainstream society. Instead people like him, who have been educated, found jobs and raised productive children, did not get properly recognized by society.

Racism is present in both cities but the affect is different for Haitians in each city. In Toronto, racism is not necessarily directly aimed at Haitians; instead it is targeted at the more visible Jamaican population. My collaborators feel that they are shielded from racism by the large presence of the Jamaican immigrant community. Unlike Haitian immigrants in the United States, being absorbed into the larger Black community is a positive thing as it allows the congregants in Toronto to escape the full force of racism. This is especially true when they consider racism in Montréal. Haitians in Toronto feel that the ambiguity of their background enables them to be shielded from racism. Whereas in Montréal the Haitian population is much more visible, my collaborators feel that they are targeted by mainstream society. Considering the congregants reactions to discrimination, it is interesting to see what they think about integration and assimilation. The next section discusses my collaborators thoughts upon this subject.

Integration and Assimilation

The conceptualization of integration and assimilation within Canadian society among my collaborators was different between the two cities. Although the congregants from both cities felt that integration was desired more than assimilation, congregants

from Montréal often claimed that integration was an easy process for them. Where as, congregants from Toronto stated that language issues and the small Haitian community hindered integration. Assimilation was never thought as being an advantageous outcome from Haitians in either city.

In Toronto, Chimene stated that it was hard to adjust to living in a new country and that it was not isolated to Haitian immigrants in Canada. The church made it easier for her to integrate and in turn, through the church she tried to make the process easier for others.

I think everyone has problem to integrate because when you leave your country and you come to another country it will take you time because uh, it's different people, different country, different food, different mentality everything is different so it will take you time little by little to adapt yourself with the country... Because uh, actually they have several people come from in States they come to Toronto now and as long as they discover the church they feel that they have part of the family, they have family because when you come to a community and you don't find anyone you know you don't find your language you feel like uh, you miss lots because without communication you cannot survive. That's why when you come here you have to go back to learn English. If you cannot communicate that's a big issue, so when people come and they find their own language, their own people there own food, you invite them and you eat together they feel more, they feel more [it is] easy for them to integrate.

(Chimene, interview, September 13, 2006)

Initially, when Chimene arrived in Canada, she found it difficult to adapt to Canadian society, as it was so different from the culture she had known. Nevertheless, as she spent time in the church, she was able to gain a sense of belonging with her fellow parishioners who also shared her ethnic identity. Integration into Canadian society was facilitated through the church as it provided a link to her culture, traditions and faith. It enabled her to be connected to other Haitians. They were able to gain a sense of belonging within a community as migration caused her to feel isolated. By accessing networks of support

and interacting with other Haitians at the church, she was able to integrate more easily into Canadian society. Chimene found it difficult to integrate at first but in the end found her way; Mari, on the other hand had a different experience with integration.

For Mari, integration was not as much of an issue in Toronto. It was something that she thought was important and necessary for her to in Canada.

Mari...it is inevitable to lose [your ethnic culture] if you want to be wholly integrated because anyone could be whole integrate in other countries. But if you want to be integrated you have to lose a part of your identity.

Debie: Do you feel like you've lost any parts of your identity?

Mari: Absolutely, you know, I'm not assimilated you know, but I have to integrate myself. So, integrate yourself to let, not to abandon, but to let, to stop a little bit, sometimes, to stop a little bit to be only (said strongly, almost a grunt) Haitian, so you have to pick up some, you know, some cultural habits, or social habits, you know, so it's losing of some parts of your own identity. You don't have any choice, yes.

(Mari, interview, September 14, 2006)

Language issues that plagued some in Toronto did not bother Mari at all and it enabled her to successfully integrate herself into Canadian society. In this instance, integration into Canadian society was essential, desirable, and facilitated by familiarity with the culture and society. Nevertheless, integration had its costs and as Mari described having to loss parts of her identity and culture in order to integrate into Canadian society. She recognized that it was a compulsory trade off for her and other Haitians. As for her thoughts on assimilation Mari felt that is was an undesirable outcome for her as it meant losing all parts of her identity. For Mari, this was an unacceptable outcome.

Integration was a necessary part of living in Toronto and Chimene and Mari both sought to achieve integration. The church provided a space where some immigrants who were not familiar with Canadian society could find comfort and gain support. On the other hand, assimilation was not desirable as it permanently disconnected Haitians from

their homeland. Congregants in Toronto all agreed that integration was easier in Montréal.

Nerett stated that it was hard to integrate, as it was difficult to make the transition from one society and culture to another. It was exacerbated when one could not access opportunities in their new country. Difficulty in getting Education and secure employment were among some of the things he mentioned that were necessary but hard to access in ones host country. Without these, he claimed, integration was a much harder process for new immigrants. Nerett felt that although Haitians in Montréal were not always able to access these opportunities for advancement in Canadian society they were willing to work hard and have been able to 'move up'.

In the end, Nerett claimed that integration was an important goal for all immigrants to achieve. As for himself, he stated that he could not be more integrated than he already was. Integration was made possible because he was able to access economic and educational opportunities. Living in Canada for 32 years, Nerett has been able to make a life for himself and his family. He moved to Canada at the age of 22 and soon after earned a degree in Education from a prominent university in Montréal. After establishing himself, he brought his fiancée to Canada and soon after they had their first of three children. He obtained employment at a large hospital in Montréal. Having achieved success and raised his children it was clear that integration was attainable for Nerett.

From these congregants statements one can gain the sense that integration is a desirable outcome of living in Canada. These congregants want to contribute to their host society because it is only through their contributions that they are able to gain a sense of

belonging and be able to access opportunities that benefit them in the future. In this instance, integration means being part of the society, having a good job, getting along with other ethnic groups, as this is especially important in an ethnically diverse city like Montréal. Assimilation, on the other hand, is not desirable as it means leaving ones cultural heritage behind in order to fully embrace Canadian cultural values and beliefs. They do not consider being assimilated as being a beneficial option because it disconnects them from their heritage and it means disconnecting them from their family they leave behind in Haiti. Nerett especially emphasized the lessons that his parents taught him saying that they were of particular value to him and that he wanted to ensure that they were passed on to his children.

Conclusion

This section sheds light upon parishioners' perceptions of different aspects of their identity in Canada it reveals whether my collaborators felt that they belonged in Canada. Looking at how these congregants conceptualize Canadian citizenship and their Haitian identity; how they define and classify themselves within the Black community in Canada, their perspectives on racism in Toronto and Montréal; and finally how they perceive both integrating and assimilating into Canadian society.

This chapter demonstrates that Haitians maintain multiple identities and many opinions about their place in society. My collaborators retain their connection to their home country, they feel that their Haitian identity is a fundamental part of their lives but they also feel that acclimatizing themselves to Canadian society is equally important, especially after they obtain their citizenship. They also feel that they are part of the larger Black community although they feel that the community is not necessarily a

unified one. To Haitian congregants in Toronto, racism is a much different experience than Montréal. They feel as if their community is sheltered the direct effects of racism. This is in contrast to the Haitian experience in Montréal, where congregants perceive racism to be very discriminatory toward Haitians. Lastly, Haitian immigrants feel that they want to integrate and they feel that assimilating robs them of their cultural heritage. To this end, many stated that they never considered themselves to be completely assimilated into Canadian society and never want to pursue assimilation.

The next two chapters outline the history of religion in Haiti and Canada and give a detailed description of The Prophecy Assembly in Toronto (PA Toronto) and L'Assemblée Prophétique in Montréal (AP Montréal). These chapters also outline the interaction between religion and immigration for immigrants in general and my collaborators specifically.

Chapter 5: The *Lwa* and the Lord: Tracing the History of Religion in Haiti and Canada

Religion has always been a vital part of Haitian life. Whether it was through the African systems of worship brought along on slave ships or through Roman Catholicism brought to the island by colonizers, religion has always played a fundamental role in the lives of the people living in Haiti. This powerful connection between religion and the people of Haiti is embedded in the culture and history of the nation.

Traditionally, Vodoun and Roman Catholicism have been considered to be the most important religions in Haiti. In fact, many Haitian scholars including Leslie Desmangles 'Haiti is 90% Catholic and 100% Vodoun' shows how both religions are perceived to be the central in Haiti. Despite this belief, Protestantism has had a long history in Haiti and been pivotal to religion and politics of Haitians. Protestantism is taking a more prominent position in Haitian society, standing on par with Vodoun and Roman Catholicism. In the following chapter, I give a brief description of Vodoun and Roman Catholicism; then I investigate the history of Pentecostalism and the COGOP in Haiti, The United States of America, and Canada. The last section of this chapter outlines the history of The PA Toronto and L'AP Montréal.

Vodoun and Roman Catholicism

Before I can properly describe Protestantism in Haiti, I must give a brief summary of the history of Roman Catholicism and Vodoun and then I outline the role each religion played in the formation of Haiti's political and social life.

Vodoun developed out of the mixture of three different cultures during the past two centuries. It came about through a combination of the animist religions of West African slaves. According to Alfred Métraux (1959), West African countries like

Angola, Senegal Guinea, Dahomey, and Nigeria were some of the countries that Vodoun originated from. When he described the origins of Vodoun, Kevin Filan (2007) stated that the indigenous culture of the Arawak and Tiano Indians had been integrated into the social practices of the African slaves. The colonizers who introduced their African slaves to Roman Catholicism made another major contribution to Vodoun. Métraux (1959) stated that the slave masters were required by law to baptize their slaves and ensure that they were brought into the faith. The amalgamation of these three different cultures contributed to Vodoun and through time Vodoun has developed into a diverse and widely practiced religion. Looking at the history of Vodoun and Roman Catholicism one can see that they have intertwined and shaped the nation.

As stated above, another important religion in the early history of Haiti is Roman Catholicism. Roman Catholicism was the only official religion in Haiti before the revolution, although Vodoun continued to be practiced by the African population in secret. In his book, *The Faces of the Gods: Vodou and Roman Catholicism in Haiti*, Leslie Desmangles (1992) stated that during the revolution, Catholicism's position began to decline in Haiti for two main reasons: a shortage of priests in the country and a power struggle between the new head of state in Haiti and the Vatican. Many White priests had either died or fled the country because of the revolution and this led to a shortage of clergy. As a result, many parishes were left with no priest to speak of thus weakening the link between the Roman Catholic Church and the newly liberated masses. In response to this religious crisis, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, the leader of Haiti at the time, decided that it would be of vital importance to resolve the priest shortage, and appointed new Black priests on his own. This was done in opposition to The Vatican as they reserved the sole

right to appoint priests. In retaliation, the Vatican refused to recognize Haiti as a republic and refused to send any replacement priests to the new-formed nation. According to Desmangles (1992), this fission between the church and the Haitian state would not be resolved for decades.

At the same time, political leaders began to oppose and suppress Vodoun publicly, although they practiced it in their private lives. It was not until Faustin Soulouque became president in 1847 that Vodoun began to be openly accepted and promoted in Haiti. All the while Soulouque was also trying to heal the schism between the Roman Catholic Church and the Haitian state. He finally resolved the split after two years of negotiation with the Vatican in 1860. The Catholic religion finally began to gain more ground and once again played a prominent role in Haiti. New rules, officially called the Concordat, were instituted in Haiti, reinstated the Vatican as head of the church and establishing three new rules for the church: Desmangles (1992) stated:

1. Port-au-Prince was declared the seat of ecclesiastical power in Haiti, and an archbishop was to be named by the president of the republic.
2. Roman Catholicism was declared the official religion of the republic and was to be protected and supported by state funds
3. In collaboration with the Vatican, church officials were to reserve the right to reorganize the sizes of the various dioceses; they were to appoint bishops to these dioceses and pastors to local churches; and they were also to found a seminary responsible for training Haitian priests (p. 46).

These new developments ensured the continued growth of Catholicism in Haiti and the number of priest and nuns grew to unprecedented numbers. Catholicism maintained this position of importance for nearly a century.

In his analysis of the socio-political history of religion, Desmangles (1992) noted that the prominent position of Catholicism remained unchanged until the Duvalier regime. Duvalier's opposition to the Roman Catholic Church centred on his opposition to

all non-indigenous institutions. One major change he instituted was to expel the Vatican appointed archbishop. As Desmangles (1992) has noted, he expelled all foreign-born bishops from Haiti such as the French archbishop Francois Poirier from Haiti and appointed members of his following to replace them (p. 52- 53). Even though Duvalier sought to fundamentally change the Catholic Church's position in Haiti, it has remained important in the lives of Haitians to this day.

Vodoun and Roman Catholicism have played huge roles in the lives of Haitians throughout Haiti's history. But these two religions are not the only religions in Haiti; in fact Protestantism presence in Haiti is a long one that plays a pivotal role in the nation. The following paragraphs outline Pentecostalism, the history of Pentecostal religions in Haiti and Canada, and discuss the history of The Prophecy Assembly and the L'Assemblée du Prophétie in Toronto and Montréal.

History of Pentecostalism and the Church of God of Prophecy

Pentecostalism has grown immensely from its early days as a religious movement in the American mid-west in the late 19th century and has gained many new members worldwide. Michael Wilkinson (2006) has stated that “in 1990, there were an estimated 14,000 Pentecostal groups in 230 countries around the world claiming 372 million Pentecostal Christians” (pp. 16-17). It was clear from these figures that Pentecostalism is a major religious denomination in the world. The main tenets of Pentecostalism rest upon a set of spiritual phenomenon. According to Allan Anderson (2004), these spiritual phenomenon include speaking in tongues, prophecy and healing which have been described in The Book of Acts and The First Letter to Paul to the Corinthians in the New Testament of the Bible. Another important aspect of Pentecostalism includes the

religion's official teaching, which included sanctification, doctrine of baptism in the Spirit. Edward L. Queen, Stephen R. Prothero, & Gardiner H. Shattuck Jr. (1996) have described the major tenets as fusing many different beliefs of American religion together including spiritual transformation, faith healing, and the second coming of Jesus.

In spite of these basic tenets, Pentecostalism is a religion that is hard to define as it has a diverse array of beliefs and many different denominations. The Church of God of Prophecy (COGOP) is one such denomination with churches all over the world. It is an offshoot of the denominational group Church of God (COG), whose name originated from a biblical reference made the apostle Paul of the 'Church of God'.

The COG originated in North Carolina and then later on moved to Tennessee. The COGOP separated from the original COG when the congregation over-threw the overseer, A.J. Tomlinson. At the same time, the church was going through reformation and its congregation began to question the role of the overseer within the church. In 1952, Tomlinson, and those who continued to recognize his authority, began their own church, which they called COGOP. Most of the beliefs are similar to the COG; it also maintains a belief in orthodox Christian belief. This includes a belief in the holy trinity, virgin birth of Jesus Christ, the performance of physical miracles, the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ and his ascension to heaven at the right hand of the Father. On in tune to Pentecostal belief the COGOP belief that the Holy Spirit enables believers to live and have power for service. (www.cogop.ca)

As Frank Mead (1995) has noted, the headquarters of the church remains in Cleveland, Tennessee and from there the church has expanded and become both, within

the United States and internationally. As of 1995, there are 74,265 members in 2,072 churches in the U.S.A and 286,848 members in 5,647 churches worldwide within the COGOP.

Church of God of Prophecy in Haiti

David Martin (1990) has outlined Protestantism growth in South America and the Caribbean. In his work, he has documented how Protestantism has began to change the religious landscape of these regions (see also Anderson 2004; Glazier 1980; Hollenweger 1997). Haiti has not been immune to the expansion of Protestantism and its presence has steadily grown since it was first introduced in the early 1800's when English missionaries brought Protestantism to Haiti in 1816. It made its first step toward major growth when it began attract the rural population.

In Alfred Métraux (1953) work *Vodou⁸ et Protestantisme*, he discussed the early days of Protestantism in Haiti. It came to the urban centres first, as many people had been converted in cities such as Jacmel. Conversions began to happen in the rural areas when people began to gradually move away from Vodoun and Roman Catholicism. Métraux (1953) highlighted a major contributing factor to conversions in Haiti:

Protestantism represented an excision, more exactly from the circle of magic, where the individual who was prey to the misfortune takes refuge in the hope of an end to his misfortune, *If you want the gods to leave you at peace, become protestant*, is a diction from the countryside that strongly represents this attitude⁹ (p. 200).

Peasants recognized that Protestantism could provide them with a way to escape the power of the *lwa*. Also, conversion to Protestantism required them to completely forsake

⁸ Vodoun, Voodoo, and Vodou all refer to the same religion.

⁹ Le protestantisme fait figure de retranchement ou, plus exactement de cercle magique, où l'individu en proie au malheur se réfugie dans l'espoir de mettre un terme à son infortune, *Si u vle lwa kite u trâkil, âtré na protestâ* (Si vous voulez que les lwa vous laissent tranquille, faites-vous protestant) est un diction compagnard qui traduit fort bien cette attitude.

any connection to the Roman Catholic Church and the Vodoun religion. Unlike Roman Catholicism, where Catholics have been able to incorporate aspects of Vodoun into Christian religious services and aspects of Christian religious services into Vodoun, Protestantism obliged the convert to put their faith only in God. This changed the way in which Haitians conceptualized their interaction with the lwa.

Alfred Métraux (1959) stated that most Protestant groups were regarded with favour by the Haitian government in spite of the fact that Vodoun was not tolerated as it had been with Roman Catholic priests. Many Methodist and Baptist converts have to burn their cultic objects in a public ceremony. Despite this, Vodoun's hold upon the culture remained strong and thus the lwa did not completely disappear from everyday life. Instead, the *lwa's* presence took on a different form.

Fredrick Conway (1980) elaborated upon the differences between the Vodounist's understanding of the lwa and the Pentecostal understanding of the lwa stating that the lwa themselves were reinterpreted as evil spirits and devils who were the followers of Satan. The manner in which Protestant converts understood the lwa also became reconfigured, as the convert became members of *The Army*. Conway also described the significance of the militarization of the Protestant convert. He stated that military imagery was a common theme in Haitian Pentecostal congregants. These congregations called themselves *The Army* and imagine themselves as having been joined by platoons of angels in order to combat against the lwa and the houngan. As Conway and Métraux have shown, Protestantism was one of a very few ways an individual could try to rise above their dire conditions and in so doing one could finally escape the *lwa*. For many people the protestant religion was powerful enough to negate harmful influence of the

lwa.

Protestantism continued to grow in Haiti since it first reached its shores in the 1800s. Since then, many Haitians have chosen to convert in order to escape the *lwa*. According to Fredrick. J. Conway (1978), American branches of Protestantism began to grow in Haiti in the 1940's and available data has shown that there was a large increase in missionary work well into the 1960's. David Nicholls (1970) has noted that by "...1955 there were forty-one separate non-Roman Catholic Christian groups operating in Haiti, numbering 383,117 members; thus 12.3 per cent of the population [was] Protestant" (p. 412). Clearly Protestantism had made great strides in Haiti since it was originally brought over from America.

Before the Duvalier regime began Protestant churches had already begun to gain a strong foothold in the traditionally Roman Catholic and Vodoun country. However, as Duvalier came into power, Protestantism was able to gain more strength. The relationship Duvalier's government had with Protestant leaders did not engage in politics activities in any way. Thus Duvalier favoured these protestant groups. "In an article written in 1945 Dr. Duvalier praised the work of Protestant churches, particularly their contribution to public health, agreeing with L.J Janvier that protestantism is 'the ideal religion for helping the great mass of the people'" (Nicholls 1979, p.412). Duvalier espoused that his support of Protestant groups stemmed from the groups penchant for helping the down trodden but his real motives revolved around his desire to weaken the Catholic Church. By inviting Protestant groups into Haiti Duvalier was able to encourage the growth of a religious group that would not interfere with his political ambitions and at the same time undermine Catholicism's position.

Protestant churches enabled Haitians to create their own congregation and this chance at autonomy appealed to many Haitian thus allowing Protestantism to grow stronger. In an effort to weaken Catholicism's hold in Haiti, he welcomed Protestant missionaries into the country, hoping to turn people away from Catholicism. As Andre Corten (2000) stated the congregational makeup and the churches propensity to ordain Black pastor caused many of these churches to grow much faster than those whose administration were strictly white. As Haitians migrated to different parts of the world they also brought along with them their religious practices.

Haitians and Religion in Canada

Christianity has changed over the past century in Canada in large part due to the growing diversity within the country. Reginald W. Bibby (1993) outlined the history of religion in Canada covering Protestantism in Canada and has shown that Christianity has been shaped by a reaction to immigrants in Canadian religious institutions and religious assimilation in Canada. Religious diversity has not changed much over the years; in fact Christianity has remained the dominant religion of Canadians since the first colonist arrived on the continent.

With the advent of open immigration starting in the late 1960's the face of religion in Canada suddenly changed. Bibby has noted four different reactions in Canada these included embracing diversity by celebrating the multiethnic nature of religion; accepting diversity by resigning oneself to the idea that diversity was changing religion; using diversity by employing it as a vehicle for evangelism in other parts of the world and rejecting diversity by keeping religious institutions as they have always been. Despite the influx of immigrants, Christianity in Canada remains the same as most of the immigrants

are Christian or become Christian upon arriving. As immigrants continue to move into the country, Christianity continues to grow as immigrants join established congregations or create their own congregation.

Wilkinson (2006) Pentecostalism has grown from just over five hundred members to well over three hundred thousand worldwide over the past century. The COGOP has churches all over Canada divide up into two main branches in Eastern and Western Canada. The mission of the church is to bring all the diverse groups of people in North America together in spiritual fulfilment despite their external differences.

Wilner Cayo (1997) defined a Haitian church as "...an assembly or a community that has a mentality and a culture that is Haitian¹⁰" (p.142). All Haitian churches in Montreal and Toronto had these characteristics; they shared a bond that has been defined by more than just language, they shared a history and culture that was purely Haitian.

There were many different Haitian Protestant churches in Montreal all starting after the second wave of Haitian immigration in the 1970's. According to Cayo, before these Haitian churches existed, Haitians often go to multinational congregations. It was not until after the 1970's that pastors began to make their own congregations in response to the needs of their Haitian parishioners. Richard Lougheed, Wesley Peach, & Glenn Smith (1999), found that there were seventy Haitian Protestant churches in Montréal with at least 200 to 300 members in each church as of 1999. As these congregations grew and the Haitian population expanded Haitian pastors began to gather to discuss issues that faced their congregations and have become part of the Haitian Pastor Association, who

¹⁰ "...une assemblée ou une communauté ayant une mentalité et une culture haïtienne."

provided support and ensured that the pastors were able to meet with each other once every year to discuss the issues their communities face. There were three churches in Toronto that are run by Haitians, they were affiliated with a larger church body. There were also an unknown number of smaller congregations meet in private homes.

Although there were no statistics on the amount of Haitian Pentecostals in Canada, there are statistics on the number of Haitian Protestants in Canada and from these statistics one gains a sense of the role Protestantism plays in their lives. As seen in Table 3 below, there are over 25,000 Haitian Protestants in Canada that was approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ of the entire Haitian population in Canada.

Table 3: Total population by religion, Haitian 2001

	Toronto	Montréal	Ontario	Québec	Canada
Catholic	595	40,185	3,835	43,770	48,255
Protestant	260	23,125	1,770	23,580	25,770
Other religions	20	75	40	75	120
No religious affiliations	80	4,070	445	4,445	5,095

(Source: 2001 Statistics Canada, single and multiple responses, 20% sample data)

The clear majority went to Catholicism with 58% of all Haitians in Canada practicing it. These numbers remained fairly consistent throughout Canada with 53% and 55% of Haitians in Toronto and Montréal practicing Catholicism respectively. Provincially the numbers stayed the same with 58%, practicing Catholicism in both Ontario and Québec. Protestant religions affiliation was second to Catholic religious affiliation where numbers in Ontario and Québec. In terms of the percentage of Haitian immigrants associated with Protestantism, there were 0.07% in Ontario and 0.01% in Toronto out of all Haitian Protestants in Canada. Likewise, 90% of Haitians practicing a denomination of Protestantism lived in Québec, where 83% of Haitians were affiliated a Protestant

denomination live in Montréal.

Thus far, I have summarized the two religions historically related to Haitians, Vodoun and Catholicism and I have discussed Protestantism in Haiti and Canada. The next sections describe the two congregations I visited in Toronto and Montréal.

The Prophecy Assembly in Toronto

The Prophecy Assembly in Toronto (PA Toronto) began in 1990 as prayer meetings at the homes of both Pastor Delinois and Pastor Neder. Twelve individuals including two of Pastor Delinois' sisters, his sister in law, his brother in law, his co-pastor, Pastor Neder, and his wife started this church. During these prayer meetings, the small church would gather together on Saturdays in order to pray and discuss scriptures in the Bible. In 1992, the pastors made a decision to get a larger space in order to accommodate the growing number of people within the church. As a result, the pastors moved their congregants into a rented space in Scarborough. After moving into the new space the church began to have services on Sundays instead of Saturdays and what once was a prayer meeting in a living room became a full and bona fide church. In 2000, the church moved again into its current location, a converted leased unit within an industrial warehouse complex. In the future, the church had planned to move to a new building along with other congregations. It will be located near the Eastern end of Scarborough next to the town of Pickering.

The inspiration for this church came from a desire to create a church where Haitians could come and worship. This became especially important when one had to go to multicultural Anglophone churches. Having a church where one's language; culture and people were welcomed made a significant difference. One of the co-pastors, Pastor

Neder, related me that he had worshipped at Anglophone churches before starting The PA Toronto. He had never really felt connected to the members of the Anglophone congregations. Pastor Neder stated “[We had] the desire to have our own community and we meet together and start that church” (interview, August 20, 2006). As the Haitian population in Toronto grew he began to meet more of his ‘own people’ and he began to build a network among them, which eventually led to the establishment of the church.

Other members of the church told a similar story. For instance, George started that he came to The PA Toronto because he sought to meet people like himself and he sought to both give and receive support to other Haitians.

Why I come to that church, to this church, this particular church. Oh, uh definitely it’s a place to meet for Haitians. That’s one big reason it’s also... I don’t mind, going to another church, maybe because of the level of education ... [I] understand English [and] speak English. I don’t feel that I have to be there, but because of the community and there’s a place to get support from your community. Yes, you need to support your community. That’s the reason.
(George, interview, September 11, 2006)

Although George was able go to other churches, he remained at The PA Toronto because he preferred to worship with other Haitians. Also, he sought support, which became especially important in a city like Toronto where the Haitian population is small. George sought to give and receive support in the form of childcare, caring for elderly family members, and exchanging information. The PA Toronto facilitated this support network and enabled parishioners to depend upon each other. Another parishioner, Mari, also went to church because she enjoyed worshipping with other Haitians, especially after going to other Black churches in Toronto. Going to The PA Toronto provided her with a sense of community and comfort; she was not able to get from the other church. Many of the congregants at The PA Toronto had already been to multicultural English churches

and although they were found fellowship within those churches, they continued to want fellowship with other Haitians. The PA Toronto provided them with the opportunity to do so and enabled them to receive support from other Haitians.

L'Assemblée du Prophétie Montréal

L'Assemblée du Prophétie in Montréal Nord-Ouest came about through the combination of two previously established churches, L'Assemblée du Prophétie Montréal Nord and L'Assemblée du Prophétie Montréal Nord-Est. The first church was created in October 1989 by the district bishop of the time, Bishop Benjamin. In the beginning, the parishioners congregated in a classroom of a high school on Henri-Bourassa with approximately 50 people. In December of that same year, the church moved from its classroom to the auditorium of that same school. In 1991, the church began to experience some internal fission involving both the parishioners and the executive committee members. As a result, many members decided to leave the church and the congregation fell from 110 people to just 20. This, in essence, made the church fall apart. Surprisingly, the members maintained services and stayed together as a congregation.

Meanwhile, Pastor Domont started his own church L'Assemblée du Prophétie Montréal Nord-Est with the approval of the national overseer of the time, Thomas Smith. As his church grew, it moved from a school in the neighbourhood within just three months. At the same time, Bishop Benjamin decided to resign as a pastor and district bishop later that year. As a result, the national overseer replaced him with Deacon Andy as pastor of L'Assemblée du Prophétie Montréal North and in January 10th of the following year, Deacon Andy began his job as pastor. On November 6th 1994, L'Assemblée du Prophétie Montréal-Nord merged with L'Assemblée du Prophétie

Montréal Nord-Est, because their members were very small. The new church adopted the name L'Assemblée du Prophétie Montréal-Nord-Ouest was preserved. The church remained in the auditorium of a local high school until 1998. Pastor Andy and Pastor Domont became both the senior pastors of that church and in December, the pastors bought a building in the name of L'Assemblée du Prophétie Montréal (AP Montréal), where it currently resides.

Church Services

Toronto

The PA Toronto is located in the east end of Toronto. The congregation consists of people of all ages, but had a greater number of adults ages 35-50 than any other age group and a greater amount of women than men by a ratio of 3-2. Many of the congregants are married and several had children who accompany them to church. The church has services every Sunday morning from 10:00-11:30 or 2:00. It also has scheduled smaller services on Sunday evening, Tuesday (Bible Study), Saturday and sometimes on Friday night but these services are not always held.

The church is not a conventional church at all. As stated before, the church was leased a unit in an industrial warehouse complex. It is one of thirty units among which included uniform manufacturers and a printing office among other businesses. The complex is made up of two perpendicular buildings. The unit used by the church has several rooms including 2 offices, a schoolroom and the main hall where the services are held. Curtains hang over the front door and window hide the church from passers-by. The main hall has a high ceiling with lights; fans and microphones are suspended from the rafters. The metal ceiling shingles and rafters are rusted and can be seen. The hall is

not large and only accommodates slightly over one hundred chairs all tightly latched together at the leg. The floor is covered in dark red carpet that started at the doorway and spread on to the stage. The walls are made of concrete blocks painted over in light pale pink colour.

Everything is kept simple, there are only a few decorations including just small bouquets of artificial flowers placed in wall sconces and in a tall vase filled with a large bouquet of artificial flowers placed on the stage. Flags are displayed upon the stage and included the Canadian flag and the flag of the COGOP¹¹ are also placed on the stage. On the walls in the front of the church, there is a verse from the gospel of Isaiah. The versed is from Isaiah 52:11-12, which stated: “Partez, partez, sortez de là! Ne touchez rien d’impur! Sortez du milieu d’elle! Purifiez-vous, Vous qui portez les vases de l’Eternel!”¹²

The stage is lined with chairs on its left side and along the back for the deacons and the choir to sit. Seating for the congregation is separated into three rows, on the left, centre and right sides of the church. The seating arrangement is not assigned formally in the church and some sit where they liked. Others followed an informal set of rules to decide where to sit. The youth, for instance, sit at the back of the church between the door and the audiovisual equipment, the elderly sit on the left side of the church and the children sit at the front of the church or are in a separate room where they have Sunday school. The adults sit in the centre row, in the middle and the right hand side where they

¹¹ The flag of the COGOP has a red background with blue lines running diagonally in a diamond shape, there are two white lines running near the top and bottom of the flag and between those there are three symbols surrounded by white circles. From right to left the symbols are a crown, a star, and an upside down sword that is purple.

¹² Leave, leave, get out of that place! Don’t touch anything impure! Get out of there! Purify yourself, you who carry the vase of God!

sit with friends and relatives. After the service congregants stay in order to talk to each other in English, French and Haitian Creole and these conversations continue into the parking lot where many congregants arrange carpools and discuss current events.

All services start similarly, with Pastor Neder who started the service with a song. He sings alone at the beginning, singing with eyes closed and head tilted up to the ceiling, his voice filled the church, loud and strong. The services start promptly at 10 every Sunday morning even if many of the congregants have not arrived. The few that are present join Pastor Neder making the church swell with the songs of the faithful.

*Jésus te confie
Une oeuvre d'amour,
Utile et bénie
Jusqu'à son retour;
Cette sainte tâche,
Veux-tu l'accomplir
Pou Lui, sans relâche,
Sans jamais faiblir?¹³*

Songs like this are sung during the services and are often a very pivotal and unifying part of the service. The next opportunity to sing comes when the choir comes to the stage after Pastor Neder gives his sermon. The choir consists of five women (sometimes four women and a man) including Chimene, on stage singing the hymns to their microphones. The words to the songs are projected on the wall behind the stage so that congregants are able to follow along. Congregants can also follow along with their own copies of the Chants d'Esperance, as the church does not provide copies. The band accompanies the choir and they consist of a *tambou* player, a drummer, an acoustic guitar player, a bass guitar player, and a piano player.

Before singing, Chimene gives a small speech or say a short prayer, in order to

¹³ Song 194 from the Chants d'Esperance section in the hymnbook Chants d'Esperance.

encourage the members to sing or to appeal to the Lord to hear their songs. Afterward, Chimene conducts the musical service and heads the choir practices, leads the choir during the church services, chooses the songs and coordinates the musicians.

Chimene described how she chose her songs for the choir section of the service:

Uhm, okay first of all, we are not a young church but because we have a small community we have some gap in the music okay that mean uh, some brethren they don't have good knowledge in music for that, every Saturday we meet at church to prepare the service for Sunday and then we practice on the song and the music together to make the worship in a better way... It depend on the song sometime I brought new songs and I have, because I have the theme for the song I have the for the song I am the leader so I have songs I have to take some from radio if I buy a disc a CD and I take the song from the CD and I wanted that one and I show them how to sing it and one way I can sing usually I can sing on C (the note) and then or I sing on G (the note).

(Chimene, interview, September 13, 2006)

Chimene drew her inspiration for the selection of the music from many different sources including American gospel music CD's she has purchased, the radio, and the Chants d'Esperance hymnbook.

Through small hand gestures, Chimene is able to direct how the choir sings the song, she could tell the band when to stop playing, tell the choir, the projectionist, and the rest of the congregation what to sing next or to slow the tempo. At time, she spontaneously made song lead the choir into a twenty-minute rendition if the spirit inspired her.

As the song progresses some congregants start to shout, '*Oh Bondye*' during the song. Members begin to sing more fervently, singing slowly annunciating every word, hands raised, heads raised the spirit is present. After this song, Chimene leads the congregation in a collective prayer and soon the church is filled with a cacophony of sound, as murmurs and shouts fill the church. The choir sings five songs, intermittently

stopping between songs in order to pray or engage the congregation in a shout and response session¹⁴. During the song, most parishioners stand up and sing along, while others remained seated. Even though some sit and some stand all parishioners sing along with the choir. They sing loudly and purposefully with their hands lift into the air, sway or nod their heads to the music as they dance in the aisles. Some of the songs that are sung during choir sessions include *Le Saint Esprit est la, Gloire à Dieu, Gloire à Dieu*¹⁵, *Dans les cieux et sur la terre*¹⁶, and *Mouin tap néyé nan péché*¹⁷ all of which are from the Chants hymnbook.

Montréal

L'Assemblée du Prophétie is located in the North-eastern part of the island of Montréal. The church is larger than the one in Toronto and is able to have more services and congregants. The space inside the church is five times that of the church in Toronto, which included a main floor, which is used for services and a basement that is used for Sunday school for kids, banquets, and tutoring. The congregation is made up mostly of people ages 30-60. The women outnumbered the men by a ratio of about 3- 2. This is most notable in the elderly group, where the ratio is about 9-1.

The church is located on a busy street with three lanes in each direction. The parishioners park on the right lane filling up the side of the street with their cars. In all, one can find about 20 – 30 cars lined up many of them were taxicabs. Also, there is a parking lot that could accommodate approximately 10 cars. The neighbourhood of the church is a suburb, composed of housing but also includes small stores to the right and a

¹⁴ Shout and response

¹⁵ A French song #136 found in the Chants d'Esperance section of the Chants d'Esperance.

¹⁶ A French song #8 found in the Chants d'Esperance section of the Chants d'Esperance.

¹⁷ A Kreyol song #89 found in the Chants d'Esperance section of the Chants d'Esperance.

large shopping centre to the left. The church had been purchased and still bares the sign of the previous company. The church has large windows that are covered with white vertical blinds that are always drawn closed when the church is not open. Two signs are placed on the windows displaying the times of the services are held.

The church resides in a purchased building that is painted completely white on the inside. The only decorations are flowers placed throughout the church. The hall is very wide with 4 sections of seating 8 seats wide and additional seating on the top right corner of the room. The stage at the front of the hall had several large chairs, which are used by the pastors, deacons, choir leaders and guest pastors. Also, the basement is large and often holds special events, tutoring classes and dinners. In Montréal, many people stay after church to fraternize or to buy food, which is offered to parishioners for a small price (\$2), it is usually meat patties¹⁸ and a soft drink.

On the stage, there is a large podium, made of wood. It stands about 4 feet tall and 2 feet wide. The stage itself is covered with red carpeting, with a large table on the right side of the stage. These six large chairs stand against the wall on the stage side by side. They are made of wood with high backs and ornate carvings. The wood is partially covered by a red fabric on the back and on the seat. On the table, there is an inscription with the words 'Faites Ceci En Memoire De Moi'¹⁹. This inscription is very common in Pentecostal churches.

The seating in Montréal is not assigned except for the youth ministry. They have a separate area on the right side of the church facing the pulpit. Mostly, people stay in their seats after Sunday school has ended but some move off to different areas. The older

¹⁸ Patties are a small snack food made of meat wrapped in pastry.

¹⁹ Do this in memory of me. Verse taken from Luke 22:19.

women sit in the front of the left hand middle row; children are put in the seats along the wall on the left side. Men stay in the front of the right hand middle row. The women stay in the back of the church in both middle rows. These sections are not steadfast, as people would sit where seats are available as I found myself sitting in all sections of the church.

The services start with Sunday school, which leads to singing and then the congregants read from the Bible, announcements are given by Pastor Jean-Pierre, and awards are given to various groups from Sunday school to reward them for having the most visitors or contributing the most money. Offerings are given while the congregation sings, a pastor, a member of the congregation or an outside pastor giving the sermon lead the congregation in song until the end of the service.

In Montreal, one of the deacons or by the pastors directed songs. The choirs including the youth choir, a young and old women's, men's choirs and one that included a combination of all choirs would direct the choir section. The youth choir is lead by Nerett's first son and have nine members whose ages ranged from twenty-six to nineteen. The young women's choir consists of five women while the older woman's choir consists of fifteen women over the age of 50. The men's choir consists of four members, one of which played the accordion while the others sang. Each choir decides what they sing on their own based upon the religious theme of the week.

The services start with a deacon. It is a French song and when Pastor Hebert starts to sing it the rest of the congregation join in almost immediately. This song is not accompanied by the band and is only sung for a short period of time. Pastor Hebert sings loudly into the microphone, his voice blares over the speakers; he sings with conviction

and reverence. After Pastor Hebert stop singing he begins to pray to the congregation, in it he thanks the Lord for blessing the church. Afterward, Pastor Hebert begins to pray quietly while the congregation sits silently listening to the prayer. Some have their heads down and their hands clasped together while others raised their heads and hands to the ceiling. He ends the prayer by saying '*Amen*'; some congregants say it with him. Pastor Hebert begins to speak in Creole when he addresses the congregation. At this time Pastor Domont or one of the other pastors come up to the microphone in order to prepare the congregation for song. Most congregants just stand as the song begins but as the song progresses some of the congregants around me sway from side to side raise their hands to the ceiling.

The next chapter deals with the reproduction of ethnicity in the church and outlines how language plays a role in helping congregants to comprehend and gain a sense of community and comfort.

Chapter 6: Reproducing Ethnic Identity: Language, Nationality and Community

The chapter above outlines the history of the most popular religions in Haiti Vodoun and Roman Catholicism. Building upon the chapter above, this chapter I outline the role ethnic identity and language plays in the each church and how the church engenders a sense of community and reproduces ethnic identity

As the world has become increasingly modernized, some scholars have claimed that it has also become increasingly secular. As a result it was posited that religion would become less important in the process. Despite the force of modernization, Cecilia Menjívar (1999a) and Charles Hirschman (2003) have noted that religion has become a vital part of immigrant's lives. They have also noted that as immigrants move around the world, they do not abandon their religious beliefs. In fact, more often than not, immigrants retain their religion identities after arriving in their host country or they acquire new ones.

Religious institutions remain important in the lives of immigrants because these institutions enable immigrants to make sense of their world, maintain a sense of group identity and fortify transnational links. Religious institutions also enable immigrants to pass it on to future generations. This is certainly true for Haitian immigrants in Canada, as religion has been etched into Haitian culture since before it achieved independence. It continues to hold an important place in the lives of first generations Haitian immigrants in Canada.

In summary, churches provide a 'physical and social space'²⁰ reproduce and share

²⁰ Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) used the phrase 'physical and social space' to describe the two ways in which the church was significant to ethnic identity reproduction. It was both physical, that was the

their culture with other Haitians. It is in this way that the congregants are able to gain a sense of community, unity and comfort and reaffirm their shared ethnic group identity. In the following chapter, I describe the ways in which the church is an important site for immigrants; how language factors in to ethnic identity formation; lastly, I explain the ways in which ethnic identity retention and language are manifest within the church.

The Importance of the Church to Immigrants

Alejandro Portes (2006) has shown that there has been a clear correlation between immigrant incorporation and religion. He stated:

In [previous chapters], we saw that modes of incorporation-composed of governmental reception, public reaction toward newcomers, and the pre-existing coethnic community- represent a fundamental structural factor affecting the long-term adaptation of an immigrant group. As noted previously, religion does not determine by itself any of these contextual elements, but it can interact powerfully with them, generally in the direction of softening their edges. It does not dictate state policy but helps implement in or, alternatively, resist it when seen as inimical to the welfare of its members; it does not create the social context confronted by newcomers, but it seeks to meliorate it by facilitating the integration of immigrants and protecting them from the worse consequence of discrimination (Portes 2006, pp. 303-304).

Here, Portes pointed out that religion provided immigrants with the ability to negotiate the circumstances of integration. Although, religion is not the only factor contributing to an immigrant's incorporation into a host society, it is a fundamental contributing factor. Religious participation also leads to group cohesion as it provides a space for immigrants to meet, share their culture and participate in networks based upon religion and ethnicity.

Many scholars have researched the link between immigration and religion, looking at ethnic identity retention, networks among churches and parishioners, transnational connections, religion in the process of migration, and structural adaptations.

church, mosque or temple, and social, it was the place where members interacted on a socially.

In their seminal work, *Gatherings in Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New Immigrants*, Stephen Warner and Judith Wittner (1998) assembled a wide range of authors covering many different facets of immigration and religion including the ways in which religion factored into the negotiation of identity, how immigrants interacted with religious host communities, the institutional adaptations that occurred within immigrant congregations and internal differentiations within immigrant congregations. In the book, many different authors described the issues that existed among a diverse group of communities including Haitians, Mexicans and Iranian Jews.

Another important book was *Religion and the New Immigrants: Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations* by Helen Rose Ebaugh and Janet Saltzman Chafetz (2000b). This work examined several different immigrant congregations in the United States, focusing upon social service provision, ethnic identity reproduction focusing upon language use within congregations and the importance of passing on traditions to the second generation. Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000b) stated:

New immigrants frequently seek out an ethnic congregation precisely in order to establish such networks ties. By providing a range of material aid, information, and emotional support, congregationally base social networks constitute a major mechanism through which immigrants begin to adapt to their new community. Because, in many cases, these networks are open to helping newcomer co-ethnics regardless of religion, they also serve as vehicles for the conversion and recruitment of new congregational member (p. 77).

Religion was a vehicle for many immigrants as it enabled them to access resources within and without the church. Ebaugh & Chafetz (2000b) pointed out that churches provided a place for immigrants to attain support, shared resources and experience and communicated with each other. They also provided a place where networks were fostered and where individuals accessed support. As well as being a religious site where

people come together in order to worship and to pray.

Scholars have also examined the nature of transnational religiosity and many have noted that transnational links have become fundamental aspects of immigrant congregations. Nicole Toulis (1997) work on Caribbean immigrants in England, for instance, established the indelible link between Pentecostal religious communities and identity formation. Toulis has also shown that religion was an important way in which immigrants made sense of their world, in particular it was a way to make sense of the suffering they experience in their day-to-day lives. She showed that the church was a very important site for ethnic identity formation and negotiation where cultural traits were reproduced and infused with new meaning. Jamaican Patois, for example, was used and reinterpreted in the Pentecostal church in which Toulis conducted research. Toulis concluded that ethnic identity markers, such as language, were multiple and shifting as the congregants employed them in the construction of identity.

Peggy Levitt's (1998) work with Dominican migrants has shown that religious ties do cross national borders. Religious experiences have become local and global and have resulted in transformations in both host and home societies. These transformations were facilitated by connections in the form of social remittances, which allowed migrants to keep ties, trade ideas and maintain transnational connections. They, in turn, have made communication of ideas, beliefs and practices easier. Levitt (1998) stated:

Religious communities are said to engender a transnational civil society which challenges nation-states and security interests as we traditionally conceive them. These processes are driven by "well-known transnational structures,"...Religious globalization is also driven by another source. Some contemporary migrations engender local-level religious transnationalism. Often, today's migrants do not sever ties with their home-country communities. Instead, people, goods, money, and information constantly circulate between countries of origin and

destination (Rouse 1989, 1991). (p.76).

Transnational connections among the migrants helped them to maintain links between religious communities in home and host nations. Through social remittances migrants were able to retain links with their home communities and establish new links with their host societies. It was through these links that religious groups transmitted ideas and monies back and forth between their host and home countries.

Cecilia Menjivar (1999b) work expanded upon transnational theory by examining the links among religious institutions outlined how religious institutions constructed transnational spaces; within religious institutions members can gain support. Religion was the means through which one could 'express and interpret' interests, remain connected to communities of origin, and remain connected to an organization that maintained transnational links.

Today transnationalism enables immigrants to continue their ties with their home nations. Similarly, new technologies help immigrants to keep in touch with their home nations. Those who migrated previously had a completely different experience and over time immigrants integrated into their host society and more or less severed ties with their home society. Lastly, churches help with migration but larger churches are often caught between creating a unified community and maintaining cultural diversity. Smaller churches are more flexible as they are newer and thus are more receptive of changes and operate more effectively in new religious spaces.

Religious institutions are important resource for migrants before, during and after the migration process. Jacqueline Hagan & Helen Ebaugh's (2003) research has shown

that religious institutions provided spiritual, financial, and emotional support to migrants and fortify transnational links to home countries. In addition, religious institutions provide a place where immigrants could gather and isolate themselves from their host society.

Frances Henry (1994) has noted that immigrant institutions provided such a service to immigrants, he stated that institutions like churches were sources for much needed services. Congregations isolate immigrants from the pressures and negative forces of the outside world. Within the walls of the community, pressures such as not knowing the language of the land are deflected away.

David Millet (1975) also discussed the significance of social institutions, such as churches, to immigrants. He stated that comfort, language and the church were integrally intertwined in the retention of ethnic identity. Millet (1975) stated:

An argument can certainly be made that churches are a repository of diversity by default;... the churches, the family, and certain recreational institutions as they only places where people seeking those of their own race, national origin or language can gather and feel that one's language, attitudes, and references to other times and places are understood... It provides them with words of understanding and familiar rituals which, at least once a week, free them from the tension of speaking another language or of being continually misunderstood, and from the isolation of knowing that one's deepest convictions are not shared by anyone else at work, or at school, or on the street (pp. 106-107).

He claimed that churches were one of a very few number of places where ethnic groups were able to experience their culture, language and ritual. In addition, it provided a place where individuals did not have to worry about misunderstandings or having to conform to the dominant cultural practices. Here one could see that churches afforded a space where members of ethnic groups could feel at 'home' or 'at ease' in there host society. Millet had described the importance of these institutions for immigrants in Canada.

The protective walls of a church or a school gym, rented for three hours on a Saturday night become the only places where a group of immigrants could feel comfortable to gather and share their culture and experiences. Religious institutions also have a profound effect upon the migration process as institutions are integrally involved in all aspects of the process from planning to arrival. All of these scholars have outlined the many different ways in which the church or religion can be significant to immigrants around the world.

The Church and Ethnic Identity Reproduction

Migrants maintained ethnic identity for various reasons. Mary Waters (1994) and Flore Zephir (1996) have noted migrants strove to keep their ethnic identity in an effort to avoid having to adopt their ascribed identities in their host country. While I prefer Nina Glick Schiller & George Fouron (2001) examination of transnational links among Haitian immigrants in Toronto and Montréal. They noted that migrants chose to retain their ethnic identity in order to gain a sense of belonging as well as maintain transnational links to their home country.

As stated before, churches provide a space where immigrants could reproduce their ethnic identity as it enables immigrants to gain a sense of self, community and identity. The physical, ceremonial, and social aspects of the church allow immigrants to incorporate components such as a common history, the same language and the same traditions of home. These institutions allow immigrants to taste a little bit of home, affording them the opportunity to practice old customs and traditions in the presence of individuals of the same ethnicity. Reproducing their cultural characteristics within the church, members are able to symbolically affirm major components of their ethnic

identity.

Religious institutions afforded a space for members of ethnic groups to fortify their links to their home nation and other members of their ethnic group. In his description on the relevance of religion in immigrants lives, Raymond Brady Williams (1988) stated that religion played many important roles in the lives of immigrants. These include reformed group and individual identity and it helped immigrants adapt in their host country. Williams (1988) stated:

Once in the United States, both groups and personal identity is re-formed in a social process that involves concrete decisions on the part of the immigrants and members of the host society... religion and religious groups thus provide a context for the socialization of children of immigrants and for complex negotiations between the generations. Strategies of adaptation and the role of religion in the formation of personal and group identity are central to the establishment of immigrant religious groups. (p. 3)

Immigrant institutions, such as churches, were one of the places where immigrants could negotiate their group identity. It provided the ideal place for immigrants to gather, discuss, and share their traditions or to create new ones. It also provided the ideal place for immigrants to pass on these traditions to their children.

As stated above, Ebaugh & Chafetz (2000b) stated religious institutions were places where immigrants could reproduce ethnicity. Specifically, they listed four different ways in which immigrant congregations reaffirmed their identities within places of worship. Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000b) stated that the ways by which congregation reproduce their ethnicity are:

...1) by physically reproducing aspect of home-country religious institutions; 2) by incorporating ethnic practices and holidays into formal religious ceremonies; 3) through domestic religious practices; and 4) through congregational related social activities (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000b, p. 80).

Religious institutions afford new immigrants with the opportunity to practice old customs and traditions as well as reconnect with people from their home country.

For the Haitians in Toronto and Montreal, their churches not only serve as a space to practice their religious beliefs, something that is very important to all who came, it also becomes a place where Haitians can socialize with one another as well as immerse themselves in their culture and reproduce their ethnicity. Ebaugh and Chafetz's key elements in the reproduction of ethnicity within churches provide two identifiable ways in which members of both The Prophecy Assembly and L'Assemblée du Prophétie are able to reproduce their Haitian identity. Within these churches, members incorporate ethnic practices into the church services and engage in social activities²¹. Ethnic practices include the use of their native languages during services and the use the Chants D'Esperance which is the traditional hymn book of Protestant Haitians. Also, the congregants participate in social activities that included celebratory and fundraising dinners, ministry meetings, and cultural events. Considering this, it is not surprising that many congregants talked about the unifying effects of using their native language in both practical and symbolic ways within the church.

Language and the Church: Using the Native Vernacular to Reproduce Ethnic Identity

Paul Brodwin's (2003) work with Haitian immigrants in Guadeloupe gave some insight into the relationship between religion and ethnic identity reproduction. He stated that Haitians in Guadeloupe had taken the ethical cues from Pentecostal theology to

²¹ The other two ways in which ethnic identity is reproduced, physical reproduction of home-country religious institutions and domestic practices, did not apply to either church. The physical reproduction did not apply because Church of God of Prophecy regulations did not allow for any kind of ornate decoration and both churches operated out of buildings that were previously stores or warehouses. Domestic practices did not apply because they were not part of the Church of God of Prophecy's doctrine.

produce a community and define the terms of their marginality. Through Pentecostal theology, Haitians were able to make sense of their experience in Guadeloupe.

As Haitians in Guadeloupe rely upon religion to make sense of their environment and reproduce their culture, Haitians in Toronto and Montreal rely upon religious site for ethnic identity reproduction. In particular, native language use within a church often fortifies ethnic identity and reproduces ethnicity. In fact, Ebaugh & Chafetz (2000a) have noted that the decision to use one language over another depended upon the particular circumstances of the church. The ethno-cultural composition of the congregants, the size of the larger ethnic community surrounding the church, and whether the church seeks to encourage non-ethnic group members and younger generations to join the church are all important factors that contribute to the language choice in the church. For the congregants in Toronto and Montréal, the language of choice is the native languages Haitian Creole, French and to a lesser degree English in the Church in Toronto. By using these languages, members are able to reproduce their ethnicity, form networks and establish a sense of community, comfort, and communication.

Reproducing ethnicity through language can have a positive or negative effect on a congregation, leading to either unification or separation. Finding the right language to use for the congregation can be a tricky thing in a church. Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000b) have demonstrated that the wrong choice could lead some congregants to feel alienated from the rest of the congregation and that it could keep new congregants from becoming members of the church. Disunity can be inspired if the congregation does not share the same language or if the linguistic needs of the marginal members are not met. Without proper linguistic comprehension members cannot full fledged members of the church as

they could not properly understand or participate in the religious services. This can lead to disunity and rupture in a church. Those who are particularly susceptible to alienation include younger or older members and non-ethnic members of the congregation.

Haitian immigrants in America link their language to their ethnic identity and use it as a basis for their reproduction and maintenance of their collective identity. Scholars, such as Elizabeth McAlister (1998), Susan Buchanan (1979 & 1980) Nina Glick (1975), and Alex Stepick (1998), have noted that Haitians in both Catholic and Protestant churches tended to give services in either French, Haitian Creole or both in order to allow for the entire congregation to fully participate. Despite this, tensions still crop up within congregations and language often proved to be the basis for much discontent.

This point was best illustrated in Susan Buchanan's (1980) work which outlined a case in which Haitians in New York were in conflict with each other over which language they should use when conducting masses. Both those who favoured French and those who favoured Creole felt a desire to maintain their distinctiveness while living in The United States of America. To meet this end both groups sought to use their native languages, but differed in their interpretation of what each language meant to them. The pro-French camp wanted to subvert racism's effect upon them by negotiating an identity that allowed them to move beyond the restrictive labels given to people of African descent in The United States of America. They wanted to reform their identity in a way that put a positive light on them and they hoped to do this by using the French language. The pro-Creole group chose to resist racial categorization by redefining what speaking Creole meant, ascribing positive attributes to the language thereby erasing the negative one. It also represented a stronger connection to their ethnic identity. As a result, they

believed in the prestige that was associated with being a French speaker but they chose to celebrate being a Haitian Creole speaker as they recognized it as being representative of true cultural heritage. French was connected to the White domination for Haitian immigrants in America and so Haitian Creole was promoted as an important cultural cue that demonstrated their distinction from African Americans. Both groups felt a desire to maintain their distinctiveness living in the United States in an effort to resist racism that had been directed toward African Americans.

Conversely, when a church operated with languages that all members of the congregation could understand then unity is be engendered. This has been seen in the congregation that I visited during my fieldwork. When language unified people it was a powerful symbol of ethnic identity and fortified networks. Ebaugh & Chafetz (2000a) stated:

Besides the opportunity to practice their faith, they sought to do so with communities whose members shared to customs, values and languages they had brought from the old country; they sought to develop social networks, with people of similar background with whom they could communicate with ease and feel comfortable (p. 437).

From the very beginning language functioned as a unifying force within religious institutions as it facilitated congregations in their efforts to form social networks. Although these social networks were based upon a wide range of characteristics, their foundation rested upon the use of a common language.

Language provided immigrant congregations with a sense of community, facilitated comprehension within their group and brought a sense of comfort that could be shared by all members. Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000b) stated that:

The use of the native language in immigrant religious institutions serves two primary purposes: to allow the laity to understand their religious

rituals and doctrine and to make them feel comfortable within, and therefore more committed to, their congregation (p. 107).

Community, comprehension and comfort are especially profound when experienced within a religious context as they enable congregants to feel connected to each other and to their ethnic identity. Unity and a sense of belonging members feel within the church made them feel linked to a larger community. The role of language establishes feelings among the congregation of unity among the congregants. Sharing the same language and cultural cues with others, especially when the mainstream population enables members to feel connected to each other. Comprehension is by far the most important aspect of native language use in a church as it serves a practical purpose. The use of a native language enables all members to understand and participate in the services. Comfort refers to the environment that is created within the church and how it enables all members to feel secure when they practice their religion and reproduce their culture within the walls of the institution. Native language is an aspect of culture that members felt comfortable.

Linguistic heritage is a powerful cultural trait that links members of an ethnic group together. It also delineates the boundaries of an ethnic group solidifying an individual's membership to that group. For Haitian immigrants in Canada, both French and Haitian Creole remains significant to their private and public lives. These languages become especially salient in places such as associations and churches because they are significant sites of cultural reproduction. Feelings of comfort and unity are manifest in the use of native languages in these site enhance ones feeling of belonging to their ethnic group.

French and Kreyol: The Reproduction of Ethnic Identity through Language

This section explores the role that native language play in the reproduction ethnic identity and the engenderment of feelings of comprehension, community, and comfort within each church. It highlights the significance of Haitian Creole and French in the lives of Haitians in Haiti, North America and the churches in Toronto and Montréal. Subsequently in looking at my collaborators perceptions of both languages and how it reproduced their ethnicity I examine how these language help the congregants to reproduce their culture. First, I look at the historic context of Haitian Creole and French for Haitians.

Haitian Creole and French in Haiti and Abroad

Haitian Creole came about through the processes of colonization in Caribbean islands. The collision of many different cultures became the breeding ground for new languages and cultures. Caribbean countries like Jamaica, Martinique, Guadeloupe and St. Vincent now speak languages that have combined the native languages of their African ancestors and the European colonizers. Unique to the island of Haiti, Haitian Creole origins were not definitively known but Judy Wingerd (1977) contended that Haitian Creole was a descendant of the French and Kwa. While Rachelle Charlier Doucet & Bambi Schieffelin (1994) have claimed that the grammatical structure of Haitian Creole came from West African slaves and the lexical base came for the French colonizers. In either case, the combination of both languages created a unique language that most Haitians continue to use today.

The colonial history of Haiti and the power differentials that existed within it established Haitian Creole's subordinate position throughout the history of the nation.

French has been the dominant language and has continued to be perceived as the better more proper language within Haitian society. As Flore Zephir (1996) has stated that although there were many speakers Haitian Creole continued to be viewed as second to French. French had been used in all of the government processes, the education system and legal system, while Haitian Creole was used only for common everyday conversation mostly among peasants. Therefore, though most if not all of the population spoke Haitian Creole, this language was relegated to a lesser status behind French. Pierre-Michel Fontaine (1981) elaborated upon the secondary position of Haitian Creole by stating that although the number of French speakers was marginal it was the Haitian Creole speaker that was marginalized within Haiti. Fontaine (1981) stated that they were politically “disfranchised economically deprived, socially subordinated, and culturally marginalized” (p.31). Though progress has been made over the years, Haitian Creole has a long way to go in order to become fully accepted among the entire Haitian population²². Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1996) best described the relationship between French and Haitian Creole in Haiti, when he stated:

All Haitians speak Haitian Creole as their native language: only a few of the most educated urbanites are native bilingual. The majority of French speakers (less than 8 percent of the total population) reach varying degrees of competence through the school system. Thus the linguistic dichotomy does not appear at the level of communication, or even in an unqualified preference for French: any Haitian is capable of communicating anything to any other Haitian in Haitian, and most Francophile urbanites often prefer to use Haitian in situations where everyone is competent in French. *Rather, the dichotomy resides in the power attached to certain forms of communication, most of which include the use of French; in the fact that mere knowledge of French gives differential access to power; in the prestige attached to that language; and in the fact that this prestige is*

²² Official status for the kreyol changed in 1918 when it was recognized as an official language by the government. In 1964, kreyol was recognized constitutionally as being necessary in cases when those who only spoke kreyol were involved in official proceedings. In 1979, it was used in schools, in 1986 its orthography was made official and in 1983 it was recognized as a ‘national’ language.

nationwide-even the peasantry believes in it to some extent (p. 151, my emphasis).

Trouillot pointed out the politics linked to the languages used in Haiti and highlighted the different positions each language held in Haitian society. The conflict that revolved around language in Haiti was not so much an issue of an inability to communicate but socio-political history of each language. Haitians who used French demonstrated their ability to traverse the politically infused linguistic boundaries, thus showing that they were of high social status. In Haiti, the distinctions made between French and Haitian Creole were firmly set into the socio-political landscape years ago and this landscape has continued to affect Haitians all over the world today.

In diaspora, Haitians continue to use both French and Haitian Creole and as a result these languages continues to hold powerful positions in the lives of Haitian immigrants. For example, many scholars contend that Haitians in The United States of America continued to use these languages in order to establish their distinctiveness from other Blacks in the United States. This is the result of not wanting to be relegated to the inferior position that many African Americans found themselves in. Haitians do not associate themselves with the American understanding of racial categorization. Therefore, Haitian Creole begins to be understood as an important cultural cue that keeps Haitians distinct from African Americans.

Flore Zephir (1996) has concluded that the racial dynamic in The United States of America has reinvigorated Haitian immigrants pride in their linguistic heritage. By using Haitian Creole, Haitians in America hoped to emphasize their unique culture and separate themselves from other Blacks in The United States of America.

In Ontario, the Francophone community made up a small part to the total

population and most of the Haitians immigrants lived in urban centres, namely Toronto and Ottawa. Settling in urban areas allowed for Haitians to access resources including French schools and Francophone associations that allowed them to preserve their language and identity. Despite their common language, the Francophone community was by no means cohesive and was very much divided along racial and ethnic lines. As a result, Black Francophone communities have begun to create their own language based associations. Amal Madibbo (2004) outlined the unique position that Black Francophones hold in Ontario when she showed they suffered from two different types of discrimination.

Language does not function separately as a discrete social phenomenon; it is embedded in complex relations with race, gender, immigration, and power. The point in this context is not to doubt the relevance of language discrimination but, rather, to affirm that, while Black Francophones are faced with the experience of racial discrimination in addition to linguistic barriers, the white Francophone social agenda continues to focus solely on linguistic discrimination. Clearly, both race and language shape the experiences of Black Francophones in significant ways (pp. 36-37).

In Ontario, Black Francophones were faced with two distinct types of discrimination: one based upon race and another based upon linguistic heritage. While Haitians in Ontario have to face the linguistic barriers, Haitians in Québec have the benefit of living in a French society.

As Micheline Labelle, Gaétan Beaudet, Joseph Levy, & Francine Tardif (1993) have shown, many Haitian leaders felt that their community was very comfortable with French and were not adversely affected by French language laws in Québec. Also, Scotter Pégram (2005) as outlined how Haitian youth conceptualize the place in Québec society through an analysis of their conceptualization of French and Haitian Creole. Pégram showed that Haitian youth often feel a strong connection to their Haitian culture

and that they had a desire to retain their linguistic heritage in Québec.

Some Haitian immigrants conceptualization of the political positions of both French and Haitian Creole have continued to be informed by the old linguistic codes that have separated French from Haitian Creole. Haitians continue to struggle with the use of their Haitian Creole and French as they come to settle in their new homes and encounter other Haitians.

English And Haitians

As Haitian immigrants move around the world they encounter new the languages of their new homeland and after immigrating to Canada many have found that they must adapt to English. Even before coming to Canada, Haitians are exposed to the English language, in fact English have become so prominent it is beginning to insinuate itself into Haitian Creole. From my personal communications, I could see English's influence upon language use in The United States of America and Canada; I would often take part in conversations in Haitian Creole and was able to witness the infusion of English words into the lexicon.

Language Use and the Prophecy Assembly in Toronto and Montréal

Many scholars of Haitians have noted that code-switching was often prevalent among Haitians. In particular, Zephir (2005) noted that bilingual Haitians almost always used more than one linguistic code. The scope and scale of the language choices had largely to do with the context and content of the conversation. Haitian Creole was used in high-density networks, while French was used in conversations with close relatives. French was also used in conversations where the context was serious while Haitian Creole was used in conversational banter and to tell jokes. This type of code-switching is

prevalent in all the services and is present in personal conversations and these conversations take place in Haitian Creole.

Language choice varies between the congregation in Toronto and Montréal. While English is slightly more prominent in Toronto, especially during the choir portions of the services, the languages that are used mostly are Haitian Creole and French. In Toronto, the church services are conducted in Haitian Creole, French and sometimes in English where Haitian Creole is the language this is used the most. The pastors would slip from Haitian Creole to French and then back again seamlessly during the course of their sermons and prayers.

Creating an atmosphere that embraced all of the members of congregants in the church required the leaders to choose languages that accommodated everyone. When asked about it, all the leaders of the church assured me that the use of Haitian Creole and French was for practical reasons as well as cultural ones. They related to me that they had decided to use Haitian Creole and French because they wanted the entire congregation to understand the services. This was especially important for the older members of the church. French and English were used to appeal to the adolescent and non-Haitian members in order to ensure that they were engaged and capable of comprehending the services. Pastor Delinois stated:

...we use...Creole and French and sometimes English. We sing some chorus in English...we speak sixty percent Creole and forty percent French, we speak more Creole because the senior[s] some of them, they don't even speak French, that's why we choose to satisfy them to speak more Creole... that's why the youth department or the children we have to speak some French. But most of the time we preach the word of God in Creole or mixed with French.
(Interview, August 11, 2006)

Pastor Delinois recognized the linguistic divide that existed among the members of the

church and in order to address this issue he chose to have French, English and Haitian Creole. Interestingly, he did not focusing on English, the dominant language in Toronto and the language that the younger members of the church were exposed to. He chose to focus on Haitian Creole and French, as all congregants understood one or both of these languages and because of the cultural significance of these languages within the community.

In AP Montréal, only French and Haitian Creole were in the services. English was only used when members addressed me because they knew it was my first language. Similar to Toronto, the church leaders in Montréal wanted to make an environment that allowed both young and old members to feel comfortable and to comprehend.

Pastor Hebert stated:

In the church, we all speak kreyol, because for the majority of the people, it is kreyol that they speak. We all speak French because all people that speak kreyol, all may not speak French but they hear it and they understand it. This is because in a country like Haiti, schools use the French language, they are all the same, if not you can tell me, but schools are in French in Haiti. So when a person speaks French he understands French as much as possible. Next, we have service in French for the youth and the children who were born here in Canada, they hear and they speak kreyol so they speak kreyol too, they understand kreyol themselves. They all speak French so it will promote them in the country; we make the

service for them in French. And give them all on Sunday a place for them to participate²³.

²³*Nan legliz-la, nou pale se tou kreyol, paske la majorite moun-yo, se kreyol yo pale. Nou pale franse tou paske tout moun ki pale kreyol, menm se yo pa pale franse men yo tand e yo konprann franse, paske nan peyi-yo tankou Ayiti lekol se en franse sa fè menm si fè moun-nan li pa kon li tout y(sa) a ou di mwen tout lekol nan Ayiti se nan franse sa fè donc ki fè moun-nan li pale li konprann franse kon menm. En-suite nou fè sevis en franse egalman pou le jeune, les enfant ki fet isit au Kanada yo tand e pal...yo pale kreyol donc yo pale kreyol tou, yo konprann kreyol yo-menm franse si yo to pale donc pou mete you nan byen peyi-a, nou fè sevis pou yo-menm tou en franse. Et ba-yo tou yo dimach pou yo fè sevis pa yo parce-que demen se si yo-menm plac-nou pou deja w gen pou kon se yap fè.*

(Interview, October 18, 2006, from translation below)

Just like the congregation in Toronto, members of Pastor Hebert's congregation were divided by their ability to understand French and Haitian Creole. Many of the elderly members of the church, who were brought to Canada by their adult children, were not as proficient with French and this fact made it difficult for the church to use French exclusively. The young members of the church, on the other hand, were able to speak both French and Haitian Creole for the most part. Another aspect to the choice of language was a desire to include new congregants of other ethnicities; the church leaders believed using French would facilitate their inclusion. With both French and Haitian Creole as the dominant languages in both churches, members were able to communicate and participate within the church. But the languages were also crucial to the reproduction of ethnicity as well as enabling the congregants to express themselves.

Express Yourself: Communicating in Haitian Creole, French and English

Above, I discuss the role of English played in the lives of Haitian immigrants in America. For first generation Haitian immigrants in Toronto, English is a language that is meant to allow them to function in their host society.

In New York, Zephir (1996) noted that Haitian immigrants perceived English as a 'foreign language of convenience and necessity'. Similarly, in Toronto, congregants used English as a tool, utilized only in order to function in Canadian society. Most importantly, it was a very powerful tool for their children as they sought to equip them with the tools they need for the future.

It is not what is said in the church that provides the congregants with a sense of

community and comfort it is how it is said that made it so salient. The songs of the Chants enable congregants to experience the culture of their homeland and the words of the pastor remind them of their home nation. Speaking with other Haitians provides a unique opportunity to be expressive in a manner that they could not have otherwise or elsewhere.

Many of my collaborators discussed how Haitian Creole was important to them in their daily lives. Specifically, Haitian Creole was the only language in which they felt they could properly communicate their thoughts and feelings to other people. My collaborators' assertions were the result of the highly expressive nature of Haitian Creole, its unique set of idioms, individual way of telling stories and idiosyncratic way of telling jokes. In addition, the act of speaking Haitian Creole, allowed many Haitians immigrants to reproduce their ethnicity and gain a sense of belonging. English on the other hand played a very different role.

George discussed the comfort he felt when speaking Haitian Creole compared to French and English. He also discussed how it allowed him to feel connected to with other Haitians. When he explained his relation to the Francophone community in Canada, George stated that he felt reluctant to assert a strong connection between him and those he considered to be Francophone as he felt there was a large difference in the ways he expressed himself in Haitian Creole, and French.

George: Hard to answer, hard to say. For me speaking French or talking English, uh, doesn't make me belong to any of them.

Debie: What about speaking Creole?

George: Well yes that's a different...Yes, speaking Creole because there are things I can say in Creole, I can't even translate in English it doesn't exist in English or in French so for me [English is] a vehicle, to function in the country, to work in the country but it don't define me.

(Interview, September 11, 2006)

In addition to the distinction between the ways in which he could express himself in French and Haitian Creole, he talked about the role English and French played in his life. For him, English and French were “vehicles, to function in the country” tools to ensure his prosperity, as a result they held no symbolic value for him. Instead, it was Haitian Creole that enabled him to articulate himself in a unique and powerful way.

In Montréal, French is far more prevalent in the congregant's lives than the in Toronto. French's dominant status in Québec attracts the large number of Haitians to the province; nevertheless being able to speak French in Québec is not without its problems. Many congregants claimed that the Québec form of French was alien to them and sometimes beyond their comprehension. Elder members were not always able to speak French. Also, my collaborators discussed the importance of being able to use Haitian Creole. Once again congregants stressed Haitian Creole position as the only language with which they could express themselves. Scotter Pégram's (2005) work, as stated above, noted that Haitian youths living in Montreal often felt more affinity toward Haitian Creole than French. Celine, a second generation Haitian-Canadian who had lived in Montréal her entire life, also described how she was not always able to understand the French spoken in Québec and that when it came to expressing herself she felt most comfortable in Haitian Creole.

Debie: I've noticed that in the church Creole is used a lot for sermons and for songs and there are other languages but Creole is used the most, so why do you think that the church use Creole so much?

Celine: I think it's a way of identifying yourself and understanding better certain things, say your talking about Haiti, there are certain expressions, there are certain things that occur then, that you cannot express in French perhaps, you have to express them in Creole and I think people can identify.

Debie: Why do you think it's important to stand out in a certain way with language or to identify yourself in that way?

Celine: Good question. Because it's, I can actually give out an example because I can't really explain it. They, okay I'm born here I'm a Montréaler. But okay, I was raised a certain way, I heard the Creole language all the time but I still speak French mostly, I feel most at ease with it, but I believe the Creole is very important because I cannot identify, even though I'm born here I cannot identify myself to, as a Québécois, I cannot relate to that culture because this is not my reality... (Interview, November 11, 2006)

At times, the French spoken in Québec was impenetrable for Celine. And this contributed greatly to her feelings that Haitian Creole allowed her to properly express herself. Also, she did not have a strong sense of Québécois identity, despite the fact that she was born in the province. These congregants felt it was very important to be able to express themselves, as it was very much connected to their Haitian identity. For this, language was fundamental and was certainly fundamental to George and Celine. What French and English could not do, Haitian Creole could.

All three languages are important to these congregants ability to communicate but they are important in very different ways and very different situations. In Toronto, English is a tool used to operate within Toronto whereas French and Haitian Creole are the languages used to communicate with other Haitians. Whereas, in Montréal, English is not the tool, French is and although congregants could speak French they do not identify with it as much as they do with Haitian Creole. Moreover, French is at times incomprehensible to the congregants while Haitian Creole is the language that congregant use to communicate with each other and it is the language that they most keenly reproduce their ethnicity.

Conceptualization of Language: Three Ideas About of Identity

In what ways did Haitian Pentecostal Immigrants in Toronto and Montréal

conceptualize the link between their language and their identity? To answer this question I looked at the manner in which some of my collaborators describe what language means to them and how it represents their ethnic identity in Canada. In particular, three of my collaborators explained to me that speaking Haitian Creole and interacting with other Haitians helped to shape their world. Chimene, George and Mari each discussed their personal understanding of how language shaped their world.

I interviewed Chimene at her house after she had come home from work. She was employed as a social worker in Toronto. During the interview, she told me of her opinions about immigrants and their ability to integrate in Toronto. As a social worker, she had dealt with similar issues herself in her job and she stated that many of her clients felt alienated in Canadian society. Chimene had similar feelings when she first arrived in Toronto. Although it was not their first choice, Chimene moved in Toronto in 1983 with her husband in order to find work and to find better living conditions where they could raise their family. They have made several attempts to return to Montréal in order to be in a more familiar environment, but were unable to due to what Chimene described as discrimination. Nonetheless, there was an intense desire to return to Montréal because of the large Haitian community already living there. Montréal enabled her to be near her family, to be surrounded by familiar languages, and to be near the large Haitian population in Montréal. But all this could not outweigh the discrimination that Chimene experienced in Montréal, which drove her to move to Toronto originally. Thus Chimene was forced to search in Toronto for someone like her, someone she could feel some affinity with and possible start to build a new community. One of the ways she found 'her people' was through speaking Haitian Creole.

...it will take time for [a newly arrived immigrant] to accommodate with uh, but the new city or the new country not only for Haitian but for everyone because, now I can say it's better now we have more Haitian in Toronto. Before it was really, really [hard] to find someone who speak[s] kreyol, long time ago I'm looking for one of my people...
(Interview, Sept 13, 2006)

Chimene's remark about language and its relation to her people may have seemed offhand and inconsequential at first but in reality it can allow one to gain an idea of her people and her ethnic community. Language demarked who belonged and who did not for Chimene. It defined whom she could feel affinity with and therefore whom she could build a community with. It also enabled her to reproduce her culture and was a powerful symbol of ethnic identity. One of the main reasons the church was founded was to bring Haitians in Toronto together in a place of worship where one could be with similar minded people.

Other parishioners also looked for their people as Chimene did. One of them was George, who after arriving in Montréal from Haiti in 1992, immediately moved to Toronto in order to join his wife. He and his wife began going to The PA Toronto in 1992, because he wanted to become a member of his wife's church enabling him to remain in a close contact with his family and friends.

Another reason for choosing the church was so he could be closer to his community. He talked about being surrounded by an English population and although he could go to other churches he preferred to go to a place where he could get support from his community. Therefore, language played a vital role in his definition of community, support and familiarity.

I don't mind, going to another church, maybe because of the level of education easy, easiness to understand English or speak English. I don't feel that I have to be there, but because of the community and there's a

place to get support from your community. Yes, you need to support your community. That's the reason.
(Interview, September 11, 2006)

Taking into account George's discussion on the link between the church, language and a sense of community one can begin to understand how profound Haitian Creole was in George's religious life. George did not want to go to a multi-ethnic church; instead he chose to be with people who were like himself and shared his culture and language. Despite the fact that he was able to speak English it was Haitian Creole that enabled him to feel connected to the Haitian community. He felt that going to a Haitian church could provide him with a substantial connection to people whom he shared experiences. George and Chimene's conceptualization of language and ethnic identity was linked to a notion of community.

In fact, the connection between language and identity is so strong and steadfast that for some speaking another language is a sign of defection and assimilation. Indeed, one is seen as casting away one's heritage in order to embrace the dominant language and culture of their host societies.

Mari, who became very animated when she discussed the relationship between culture and identity, stated that when she witnessed her friends' unwillingness to pass on Haitian Creole to their children, she felt that they were abandoning their culture and forsaking their identity. She told to me that there was a sharp distinction between those who continued to use Haitian Creole and those who stopped.

I had some friends who I talk to about the Haitian identity, the Haitians language I had some friends who were, mother Haitian and father Haitian and uh, who their children never, never, never talk, never speak Creole and at that point they didn't want their children talking Creole, speaking or even hearing Creole and I considered them as assimilated even then they didn't identify themselves as Haitian at work so I consider them as

assimilated. Since 1980's, even since 1990's maybe 1995 until now, a lot of thing change. And those same Haitians find out how it's very important for their children to talk, to speak Creole, because they have their mother and their parents in Haiti who they brought in Canada to baby-sit their children and those parents don't speak French and English either, so they have to identify themselves as Haitian to take advantage from those parents to baby-sit, but I know that there are a lot of Haitians who want to be assimilated.

(Interview, September 14, 2006)

To Mari, passing on Haitian Creole to one's children is very important. To that end, when her friends' chose French and English over Haitian Creole she linked it to assimilation. When her friends decided not to pass their mother language to their children they had decided to deny their heritage and their culture. They were choosing to embrace Canadian culture through the use for French and English and thus were choosing to fully assimilate themselves and their children. Mari noted that it was a double-edged sword as it allowed her friend's children to become part of Canadian society through the assimilation process, but it also alienated the children from their home culture and from their grandparents. Nevertheless she felt that choosing the culture of one's host society was a sort of betrayal to one's heritage. Language and ethnic identity were inextricably linked for Mari and speaking Haitian Creole was a fundamental way to express ones Haitianess.

These three descriptions of identity show how language is connected to ethnic identity. For Chimene, language gives her a sense of belonging to the Haitian community in Toronto and it allows her to reproduce her culture. George is not hindered by language, in fact he is comfortable with English, French and Haitian Creole but he prefers to stay with his 'people' in the church because feels like he can access a network of support. Lastly, Mari's conceptualization of language and its connection to identity

causes her to perceive those who refuse to pass Haitian Creole on to their children as people who are rejecting their heritage and their culture.

For these three, ethnic identity reproduction through language is especially important because there are so few Haitians in Toronto. Thus it brought them closer together to the other congregants and to their home country. Language is certainly part of ethnic identity for the congregants I describe above, but another significant aspect of language within these congregations is language's ability to inspire comfort.

Language and Comfort

In Toronto and Montréal, members of the congregations claimed that the use of Haitian Creole was a major attraction for going to each church for them and other congregants whom they knew. When members explained why they became members of each church, the words that were used most prominently were 'community', 'home', and 'comfort'. In essence, these congregants stated that they felt that they were able to reproduce their ethnicity through language and as they did they were able to gain a sense of community, gain a strong connection to their home country and gain a sense of comfort.

Pastors in both cities were adamant when they asserted how important the use of Haitian Creole in their churches and its link to their culture. They stated that Haitian Creole brought the Haitian community together and solidified each congregant's link to each other. Pastor Delinois claimed that the church was a haven for the Haitian people who lived in Toronto, which became especially important because of the presence of English around them. Pastor Delinois stated:

...if the church was completely 100% percent French we could get more people coming from non-Haitian because sometimes when their coming

you see we speak Creole and we cannot avoid that because the main reason the church exists is for the [Haitian] community. So without the language we have no culture that's why we have to keep on the Creole language...Haitian people first because...we have lots of English people, English church in the community and if we said we have to speak only French...part of the church don't understand what we do, we don't want to do that.

(Interview, August 11, 2006).

In his statement above, Pastor Delinois described how important Haitian Creole was to his church. Pastor Delinois linked Haitian Creole to culture and community and stated that they were important to the mission of the church. These services enabled Pastor Delinois to put his congregants' needs first, in particular the need to be with other Haitians was satisfied by the use their native language, in this case Haitian Creole. The congregants desire to use Haitian Creole was one of the primary reasons for the creation of the church; where the church could providing services in a language that brought the Haitian community together in Toronto. As a result, the church became a site of comfort being one of the limited amounts of places in Toronto where Haitian immigrants could gather.

Pastor Neder's came to Toronto in October of 1982 and in his time in the city he had been a congregant at a multi-ethnic church. He found that although his spiritual needs had been fulfilled, he still longed to be with his people. One of the main purposes for starting the PA Toronto in 1990 was to be with other Haitians. Pastor Neder stated:

Yeah, there is something that represent Haiti in our church because we, the language not only we speak it, we use it for the church, in the church just for people who can understand but I think many people in the Haitian community understand French but think when we use Creole they feel more comfortable...mostly when they go to another church...you feel you don't have anyone to approach but when people are coming here, they approach people because of the language, because of the custom, of the culture and we can approach each other...[and ask] which country you come from in Haiti sometime they...realize that they came at the same

community, the same country in Haiti when they feel here, they feel comfortable they don't feel like [a] stranger, that help[s] them, that encourages them, more to live it. That's the very difficult part when you're coming to a country when I came here there were no Haitian people, for a long time I feel very, very uncomfortable but when Haitian people start to come here, I feel like I'm at home, I feel like I'm in Haiti here. That help[s] me, comfort me.
(Interview, August 6 and 20, 2006)

While living in Toronto, Pastor Neder had felt alienated and disconnected from the mainstream society. But to him, the church was a place where congregants could feel that they could be in solidarity within his ethnic group. Pastor Neder had felt more connected to the Haitian community because he was able to reproduce his ethnicity through the use of his native language with other Haitians. In the end, the church became a place where he did not have to feel like a stranger in Canada anymore, instead he was among 'his people'.

Another congregant, George, had similar conceptualization of language in the church, but for him, his connection to the community was based largely upon their shared ethnicity. George stated:

I would say yes, there is a sense of community because especially you got people that do not speak the language of the country, I would say English mainly in Toronto, this is a way for them to get together as a group of people that can trace their origin back to Haiti and because of that they feel that 'yes, this is a place I can come I can feel welcome, I don't have to feel worried language understanding what people saying because we speak the same language, there's a sense of community.
(Interview, September 11, 2006)

George felt that the use of Haitian Creole was a major contributing factor to the feelings of comfort members felt. English, as the dominant language in Toronto contributed to the significance of Haitian Creole in the church. Haitian Creole solidified the connection between members within the church. The church was a space where members could feel

that they were comfortable and where members felt that they could express themselves without fear of being discrimination.

In Montréal, the situation was different, as the congregants felt less alienated from the rest of society linguistically. Instead of the isolation congregants felt in Toronto who had to learn English, congregants in Montréal were already able to understand the language, as it was part of their cultural heritage. Nevertheless, the differences congregants in both cities they had similar conceptualizations of how language and comfort intersected in their lives. Despite the fact the presence of French, a language that some members of AP Montréal had experience with, nevertheless they felt alienated from society. These feelings of alienation contributed to their connection to Haitian Creole, just as it had in Toronto.

Pastor Moïse, a pastor who gave a guest sermon at the AP Montréal, stated that Haitian Creole was the common denominator among parishioners. Pastor Moïse stated that sharing the language brought them together:

Yes, they are part of the community and you know when you are, when you're not, when you're born outside of the country, church becomes a place to come and meet the other people and to feel comfortable emotional because you want to come because you can meet the others same language with you same culture with you and I think that it's a good atmosphere at the church.

(Interview, November 13 and 16, 2006)

For Pastor Moïse, there was a strong connection between language and comfort. This is especially significant because congregants have come to live in an unfamiliar place. Congregants had been motivated to become part of these Haitian churches because they shared the same language. It provided them with an opportunity to reproduce and experience their culture and native languages. It also provided the congregants with a

shared sense of comfort. The church had become a familiar place with familiar site and sounds. Reproducing ones ethnicity in such a way guaranteed that congregants felt comfort once they enter the doors of the church.

A keen example is Betty, a relatively new member of the church in Montréal, had previously gone to a multicultural church but chose to go to AP Montréal because she felt uncomfortable with the multicultural French speaking congregation. Upon coming across AP Montréal she stated that the church made her realize that being with other Haitians made her feel at home and made her feel more comfortable. “There was something I was not comfortable with [at the other church], so I was thinking about changing...there is a lot of activities...and everyday they have services.” Within these services Betty was able to find a space where she could feel comfortable and relate to other congregants through song and through the sermons. These Haitian churches provide a site to safely engage in cultural activities for their congregations and in turn enable congregants to feel comfortable. Given the presence of French in Montréal, Haitian Creole does not hold as an important position for Haitians as it has in Toronto, but Haitian Creole still resonates with members.

Conclusion

As Alejandro Portes (2006) stated above, religion is a major contributing factor in immigrant incorporation. The church provides a space where first generation immigrants could once again immerse themselves within their culture. Also, the church provides a space where congregants develop a sense of community and comfort. Living in their host country, immigrants do not feel they can completely relate to their host society, as they are discouraged from feeling that they belong to their country of origin. Add to this

immigrants' penchant for transnational relationships abroad and their own local community. For immigrants, ethnicity and heritage have a profound effect upon their sense of belonging while they live in their host countries. By reproducing their ethnic identity through practicing the customs, language, culture, food and music of their homeland, they are able to attain a sense of belonging. Immigrants actively experience their home country; where they meet on a regular basis and communicate, share and receive support.

In this case, native languages play a vital role in fortifying ethnic identity and creating a sense of community in The PA Toronto and AP Montréal. Congregants note that they are most comfortable using their native languages within the church. However, the church is one of the very few places where these congregants could freely speak their languages with other Haitians. Dominate languages in Toronto and Montréal are English and French respectively and congregants have to use them in order to function in Canadian society. Nevertheless, the predominance of these official languages does not change the position of the congregants' native languages in their lives.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Usually, usually I invite them, someone come ... people who don't have anyone here usually I invite them home after church and but I call them some Saturday morning and the evening time, tell them, 'tomorrow is it able for you to eat with me', 'okay, that's fine I can after church'. We come and we spend time, we know each other, eat together after the church I love to do that.

(Chimene, interview, Sept 13, 2006)

The words above demonstrate the desire among the congregants to create a community with other Haitians exemplified by one congregant in particular, Chimene. My experience with Chimene is an apt example of the congregants' capacity to instill, both in each other and in newcomers, a sense of being a member of a community.

Chimene, as a pastor's wife, was responsible for many important jobs at the church including heading the choir and leading the women's Sunday school lesson. Despite these demanding and time consuming jobs, Chimene still took it upon herself to make sure that others felt comfortable within the church. She also extended her hospitality to me when I first arrived at the church. In fact, on more than one occasion she asked if there was anything she could do to make more feel more comfortable in the church. The hospitality Chimene showed me was an expression of her capacity to care and to help others. This sentiment was not limited to the pastor's wife; in fact, all of those involved in the church conveyed this kind of hospitality and sense of goodwill.

When I started this project, I was interested in seeing how immigrants adapted to living in a new country and how this would affect their perception of themselves. Particularly, I wanted to know what role the church played in these transformations. Now, having finished the study, I now know that many factors prompt changes in an immigrant's perceptions of self.

Theory on globalization has shown that previously disconnected and stationary identities and monies have begun to move freely. The nation and the individual are now able to remain connected despite the national borders that separate them. As scholars such as Arjun Appadurai (1996) have taken a closer look at the personal ties migrants have preserved and the movement of money, values, ideas and artefacts, it became clear that transnational connections had a significant effect upon their identities. Also, Nina Glick Schiller and her colleagues have led the way in the research of transnationality among immigrants. Their work has highlighted the presence of long-distance nationalism and the nature of transnationality among migrants around the world. Particularly, their work shows the manner in which immigrants develop multiple identities after living in their host country and how immigrants remain connected to their homeland.

Immigrants maintain bonds, which manifest as remittances; trips back home; and the exchange of information and values. Strong nationalist sentiments are also engendered within immigrants who participate in these transnational social fields and this enables immigrants to continue to strongly identify with their home nation. Also, these factors are shaped by the policies and attitudes of the host society's population and they contribute greatly to and detract from the integration of immigrants in Canada. Governments also play a role in isolating immigrants and ethnic communities through institutional racism and discrimination. Moreover, Micheline Labelle and Victor Salée (2001) have noted that governments also isolated their immigrant and ethnic populations by marking them as different from the rest of society. All of these factors combined create a unique realm for the development of immigrants' sense of self and their sense of belonging with home and host societies.

My work builds upon the theories of the scholars mentioned above in order to understand how immigration and religion interact. It also takes the role of religious institutions into account showing how religion is important in the reproduction of ethnic identity and the formation of an immigrant's sense of self. However, religious institutions also provide a space to foster networks and isolate immigrants from the harsh realities of their host society. Studies conducted previously have focused upon the networks fostered by churches on both local and international levels and how they have effected relations between immigrants and their home societies. These studies have shown that networks have played a fundamental role in the migration process and within the religious institution. Networks established by migrants are both local and global, linking religious communities and ethnic communities around the world. Within these religious institutions, immigrants are able to find solace from feelings of isolation and separation in their new country and begin to feel a sense of community and belonging. Finally, churches are among the few places where immigrants could practice their culture, use their language and reinforce their ethnic identity. Using the native language, in particular, helps to reproduce culture and enable congregants to understand the service, feel comfort and retain commitment to the church.

The congregants of the Prophecy Assembly churches in Toronto and Montréal also retain a strong sense of ethnic identity through participating in the services and the social networks provided by each church. The Haitian immigrants that attend the church seek out these religious institutions in order to take advantage of the opportunities that the institutions offer. To illustrate this point, I used the example of the use of the native vernaculars within both churches and the congregants' descriptions of how they feel

when they are able to speak Haitian Creole and French. Through the church the congregants are able to gather in a 'physical social space' where these immigrants could reproduce, retain and share their culture with other Haitian immigrants.

Scholars of immigration and religion, such as Michael Wilkinson (2004), have called for further research upon the subject, stating that it has remained a largely untapped topic of study. They claim that by understanding the ways in which immigrants and religion interact will provide a better understanding of the ways in which immigrants incorporate themselves into their host society. A wider study is also needed in order to fully comprehend the wide breadth of issues that surround immigrants within religious institutions. Such topics include an extensive study of how religion is involved in all stages of migration, from planning to arrival in the host country, how networks and support can help immigrants once they have arrived in their destination country and, how religious institutions and governmental bodies have interacted in order to improve incorporation among immigrants.

Studies by such scholars as Prema Kurien have started to expand the body of evidence on this intriguing subject. Kurien (2004) pointed out there were nuanced implications of transnational links and long-distance nationalism in her examination of American Hindus. Kurien showed that the previous interpretations by scholars of transnational links needed to be re-evaluated as these links were not always seen as completely positive or completely negative by immigrants. New transnational perspectives, like that of Kurien, would enable a fuller understanding of how immigrants maintain a sense of ethnic identity and produce a sense of belonging within their host society.

From the study I have conducted, I see great potential for further research and as people continue to move around the world and continue to worship I am sure that this topic will yield ample amounts of fascinating results.

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